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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL PREFACE.....	1
A NEW SEVENTH CENTURY HEBREW OSTRACON..... <i>H. Neil Richardson</i>	3
THE 'INSPIRED' STYLE OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE..... <i>Robert Sumner Jackson</i>	4
THE LILLY ENDOWMENT STUDY OF PRE-SEMINARY EDUCATION..... <i>J. Arthur Baird</i>	16
WHAT WE LOOK FOR IN THE NEW TESTAMENT..... <i>Robert M. Grant</i>	20
INTERPRETING THE RESURRECTION..... <i>Eric C. Rust</i>	25
JESUS IN HISTORY AND IN FAITH..... <i>Donald T. Rowlingson</i>	35
THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING	
THE OLD TESTAMENT..... <i>Edward Lee Beavin</i>	39
THE NEW TESTAMENT..... <i>William A. Beardslee</i>	44
OUGHT THE TEACHER JUDGE OTHER RELIGIONS?..... <i>Donald Walhout</i>	48
YEHEZKEL KAUFMANN'S VIEW OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL (A REVIEW ARTICLE).....	
..... <i>J. Philip Hyatt</i>	52
BOOK REVIEWS:	
BRIGHT, JOHN, A HISTORY OF ISRAEL..... <i>By Harvey H. Guthrie, Jr.</i>	58
CHILDS, BREVARD S., MYTH AND REALITY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.....	
..... <i>By Emmett Willard Hamrick</i>	61
MILLEY, C. ROSS, THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL..... <i>By Lucetta Mowry</i>	62
BAUMAN, EDWARD W., THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS..... <i>By Dwight M. Beck</i>	64
MIEGGE, GIOVANNI, GOSPEL AND MYTH IN THE THOUGHT OF RUDOLF BULTMANN.....	
..... <i>By Harry M. Buck, Jr.</i>	67
BULTMANN, RUDOLF, EXISTENCE AND FAITH: SHORTER WRITINGS <i>By B. LeRoy Burkhart</i>	68
CORWIN, VIRGINIA, ST. IGNATIUS AND CHRISTIANITY IN ANTIOCH <i>By B. LeRoy Burkhart</i>	70
GODSEY, JOHN D., THE THEOLOGY OF DIETRICH BONHOEFFER..... <i>By William Hordern</i>	71
KAUFMAN, GORDON D., RELATIVISM, KNOWLEDGE, AND FAITH.... <i>By Arthur W. Munk</i>	74
PAUL, ROBERT S., THE ATONEMENT AND THE SACRAMENTS..... <i>By Robert L. Ferm</i>	75
GATES, JOHN A., THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF KIERKEGAARD FOR EVERYMAN.....	
..... <i>By Donald V. Wade</i>	76
FALLAW, WESNER, CHURCH EDUCATION FOR TOMORROW..... <i>By Randolph C. Miller</i>	80
KEETON, MORRIS, VALUES MEN LIVE BY..... <i>By A. Roy Eckardt</i>	82
GERSTNER, JOHN H., STEPS TO SALVATION..... <i>By Harold A. Durfee</i>	84
LARSON, MARTIN A., THE RELIGION OF THE OCCIDENT..... <i>By Joseph Politella</i>	86
BOOKS RECEIVED.....	88

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Editorial Preface

Staff Changes

Readers of this publication and particularly members of the National Association of Biblical Instructors, the *Journal's* sponsor, are advised of certain changes in editorial direction.

Carl E. Purinton has served as Editor of *The Journal of Bible and Religion* for twenty-three years. The occasion of his retirement cannot be permitted to pass without published acknowledgment of our measureless debt to him and, implicitly, the debt of scholars everywhere. Although the NABI was founded in 1909, the initial issue of the *Journal* did not appear until 1933. Assuming the post of Editor in 1938, Dr. Purinton has labored with quiet and steady devotion. He it is who has brought this publication to its present stature. It is at once difficult and disturbing to think of the *Journal* without his direction. The most tangible contemporary evidence of the depth and breadth of Dr. Purinton's contribution is the fact that virtually two men are needed to take his place. A further note concerning the expansion of the staff will be included in the April issue.

Dr. Purinton would be the first to try to shift attention to the help he has been given by others. From among many names, at least that of Dwight M. Beck ought to be singled out. Dr. Beck has been Associate Editor since midyear 1952, was Acting Editor during 1955-56, has served as a tireless reader of proof and careful judge of manuscripts, and now retires with Dr. Purinton.

Science and Man's Uniqueness

For all the differences of intellectual and religious conviction among members of the NABI and contributors to this *Journal*, presumably most of them are agreed that man is possessed of a qualitatively unique nature. In this there is opposition to dominant tendencies within certain scientific disciplines. Through presupposing that the behavior of human beings is to be comprehended in ways not essentially different from the behavior of other creatures, these tendencies tacitly deny the peculiar stature of man.

In recent years signs of disquiet over the reductionistic treatment of man have been manifest within scientific study itself. An alternate trend has been evident for some time. It is currently given encouragement by the launching of several new journals.

Existential Inquiries began publication in September, 1959. It is the publication of the American Association of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry, founded in the same year. In describing the purpose of the *Journal* in the first issue, the Editor, Rollo May, emphasized that science must always be relevant to the distinctive character of its subject matter. The distinctive element in man is that through a capacity to transcend immediate situations, "every instinctual force or dynamism is transmuted in terms of some meaning the person gives it. And this meaning implies his ultimate potentiality for choice, freedom and responsibility. . . ." The positivist-behaviorist approach is a prevailing one, so Dr. May asserts, largely because it accords with the technical and mechanistic

emphases of our culture. It must be countered by "an analysis of man, his nature and his relation to reality which does more justice to the truth about human beings. . . ."

The Journal of Humanistic Psychology, according to an announcement, will be concerned with those human capacities and potentialities which have not received proper attention in scientific study. The announcement contains the wistful but not entirely hopeless statement that "unfortunately, 'official' American Psychological Association policies and journals are not as yet hospitable to publication along these lines." The hope is expressed that the new journal will "greatly speed up the emergence of a more adequate—a more scientific—picture of the full possibilities inherent in the nature of man."

A prospectus for the forthcoming *Journal of Existential Psychiatry* sums up the polemic by means of a similar appeal to fact:

Man is more than mere mechanism or statistical abstraction. Toward this conclusion evidence and opinion have been mounting. Resolving old discrepancies has only made new ones visible. Problems not solutions have become apparent in the search for a knowledge of man, of how he functions, and where he is going. Obviously, many observers of man-in-action have felt an unrest with theoretical frameworks that confine, rather than define. Too consistently overlooked has been the fact that the human organism is relatively open to new experience and evinces at every moment the plasticity of a growing, creative, newly-confronting agent. Man is not merely the prisoner of mental mechanisms, diagnostic categories, primitive urges, or repetitions. He is capable of the unexpected as well as the expected.

Those who contend for the dignity of man are attentive to allies within circles which reputedly study man but which traditionally—and ironically—have provided little opportunity for man's peculiar voice to be heard. Those who go further and attest to

the image of God in man will smile when that image is given substance through the very protests of scientific nonconformists.

In earlier generations many representatives of physical and biological science sought to dispute with men of religion on the issue of the nature of man. After that tumult and shouting died, a resurgence of reductionism occurred at the hands of fresh and zealous recruits within the psychological and social sciences. Now once again all does not seem to be well within the ranks of the faithless faithful. Those who make constant appeal to the "facts" are hard put not to permit all the facts to speak. And lest the reference to two journals employing "existential" in their title be interpreted as signifying a type of allegiance to existentialism, it is in order to add that the latter outlook has tended to an empirical deficiency not entirely unlike that shown by reductionism—a failure to take sufficiently into account the life of reason.

Wesleyan Studies in Religion

Can a small church-related college support and produce a good scholarly journal devoted to religious studies? West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon, West Virginia believes that the answer is a definite yes. Skeptics would do well to procure a copy of *Wesleyan Studies in Religion* which has just made its initial appearance. The first issue gives considerable promise. Writers of all four of the articles are NABI members: Jose A. Franquiz, Paul E. Johnson, Kenneth M. Plummer, and Howard M. Teeple. There are also critical reviews. Dean Orlo Strunk, Jr., himself a psychologist of religion, has had much to do with the initiation of this new journal.

A New Seventh Century Hebrew Ostrakon

H. NEIL RICHARDSON*

A RECENT announcement has appeared in the public press and elsewhere of the finding of an ostrakon in excavations near Yavne-Yam in Israel which when fully published will undoubtedly prove to be highly significant both in terms of Hebrew palaeography and in biblical exegesis.¹ Since publication to date has been very limited it is impossible to present more than a brief note; but due to its importance a wider knowledge of this find, even at this preliminary stage, is in order.

On palaeographical grounds the ostrakon must be dated earlier than the Lackish letters but later than the Siloam Inscription. It thus should prove valuable in filling the gap in our knowledge of the development of palaeo-Hebrew script in the seventh century. According to the reports at hand the ostrakon contains fifteen lines of which, however, only five have appeared. These five read as follows:

1. y . (w)yqh . ('t) bgd 'bdk k'sr klt
2. 't qsr y zh ynm lqh 't bdg 'bdk
3. wkl 'hy. y'nw ly. hqsr m 'ty bhm
4. 'hy. y'nw ly. 'mn nqty m'
5. bgdy w'ml' . lsr lhš/š

The following tentative translation is offered:

1. ... and he took the garment of your servant when I finished
2. my harvest this ynm took the garment of your servant
3. and all my brethren will answer on my behalf—those who harvested with me in the heat
4. my brethren will answer on my behalf. Truly I am innocent (...)

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5. my garment. And I shall fulfill for the prince (...)

Orthographically the text is interesting since there is an absence of medial *matres lectionis*. The problem of final *matres lectionis* is more difficult to solve. The word *klt* in line one has been treated as first person singular, *scripta defectiva*, but note *nqty* in 1. 4 with final *y*. Since a mixed orthography is not to be expected, *klt* might be construed as an infinitive but this raises the question of *ka'šer* with the infinitive. Syntactically *zh ynm lqh* is impossible as "this oppressor took."² 't qsr y might be translated "with the harvesters of" followed by a name. However, it is difficult to read *zh* as the first two letters of a name. Therefore, we read *ynm* as a proper noun preceded by *zh* (cf. Ex. 32:1 for this use of *zh*). It is possible to read ' instead of *y* but Michaud is not correct in reading the last letter as *n*. This would yield 'nm (cf. the place name 'anim, Josh. 15:50). One may also note that word dividers are employed but only sporadically.

These lines reflect the practice prohibited by the law, "if you ever take your neighbor's cloak in pledge, you shall return it to him before the sun goes down" (Ex. 22:26 [H. 25]). Compare also Deuteronomy 24:12f., 17; Prov. 20:16; Amos 2:8; Luke 6:29 (Matt. 5:40).³

REFERENCES

- ¹ Vogt, E., "Ostrakon Hebraicum Saec. 7 A.C.," *Biblica*, Vol. 41, Fasc. 2 (1960), p. 183f. *The Jerusalem Post*, March 10, 1960; *Omer* (same day). *Illustrated London News*, March 19, 1960, p. 463. Michaud, H., "Une nouvelle lettre en paléohébraïque," *Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. X, No. 4 (1960), p. 453ff.

² So Vogt, *op. cit.*: "Iste oppressor abstulit . . ."

³ I am grateful to Frank M. Cross, Jr., for a number of helpful observations.

The 'Inspired' Style of the English Bible

ROBERT SUMNER JACKSON*

W. SCHWARZ'S recently published historical study, *Principles and Problems of Biblical Translation*,¹ provides an illuminating means of approach to a matter in sore need of thoughtful discussion: how to interpret the character and quality of the great modern language versions of the Bible. Confining himself to the theory of Bible translation as it developed in respect to several of the most important translations in history, Schwarz has shown how the choice of method of translation hinged on answers to theological questions. His study, ending with Luther's Bible of 1522, leaves untouched the great English Bibles of the Reformation. This is proper for his purposes, since the English tradition adds nothing of fundamental importance to the "principles and problems" as they were earlier formulated. But what happened in England is of peculiar significance to the inheritors of the English language and of the English Bible. It is the purpose of this paper to uncover and explain, with Schwarz's help, the theory behind one important 'stylistic' practice in The King James Version² and to say something about its significance for our own thinking.

I

The numerous historical theories of Bible translation, as Schwarz has explained them, can be resolved into two types, distinguished by where one presumed the inspiration to be found. Of the first sort are the theories which suppose the inspiration to rest exclu-

sively in the literal form of the text from which one translates. The translator working under such a theory sees himself and the language into which he translates as very humbly related to this inspired 'original'.³ Consequently, he tends to subordinate the new language to the earlier language; he generally cares more for grammar and lexicography than for meaning; and—regarding more graceful or natural translations as presumptive, misleading, and inaccurate—he tends to produce word-for-word translations. This is what Schwarz calls "the philological view."

The chief historical statement of the philological view Schwarz finds in a letter by St. Jerome in which he advocates translations according to the sense "with the exception of Holy Scripture where even the order of words is a mystery."⁴ Jerome's philological position is further revealed by his defense for translating the Old Testament from the Hebrew. This took the form of an attack on Philo's widely accepted view of the Septuagint as inspired, i.e., corresponding exactly to the Hebrew (as Philo claimed) and produced by men who were themselves to be regarded more as prophets than as translators.

Philo's view of the Septuagint introduces Schwarz's second view. Of this sort are the theories which see the translator as participating in the inspiration. Basic to this view is the assumption that the Word of God is separable from the particular words in which it was first set down; hence it may be available to the translator through non-philological channels. Such a view tends to lay greater stress on interpreting and understanding the meaning, as against the letter, of the text. Because of the substance of the Bible an emphasis on meaning implies a

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translator of primarily spiritual or theological understanding. It tends to elevate the religious authority of the translator and of his translation. And since the exact phrasing neither of the 'original' nor of the translation is significant, except insofar as it expresses the meaning, this permits the translator to choose the natural phrases of the new language; and this is why it is more likely to produce what we would call a literary version. Schwarz calls this "the inspirational view."⁵

However unacceptable in our age of scientific philology, this view has had distinguished spokesmen in the past. St. Augustine supported Philo's inspirational view of the Septuagint against Jerome, holding that the "Spirit that was in the prophets when they spoke, this very Spirit was in the Seventy men when they translated."⁶ Its most important representative in the age of the Reformation translations was, according to Schwarz, Luther. Luther long puzzled over the meaning of Romans 1:17; it came to him finally not by his knowledge of languages, but, according to his own account, as a gift from God, and it opened to him the whole of the Scriptures. Schwarz finds various statements in Luther's writings testifying to the importance of the Spirit in the reading or translating of the Scriptures, ranging from a long and subtle analysis of his lectures on Psalms to the flat statement: "Nobody can understand God or God's word unless he receive it directly from the Holy Spirit."⁷

Somewhat earlier Jacob Latomus had used an inspirational view to support the Vulgate against the Greek New Testament. Latomus had held that to know Greek does not signify that one can understand the New Testament; a learned heretic may read Greek with surpassing clarity and yet be among those who "hear and hear, but do not understand, see and see, but do not perceive" (Is. 6:10, RSV). The testimony of a true understanding of the Scriptures was

a true faith—which for Latomus meant membership in the Catholic Church. So crucial was this notion of true understanding to Latomus that he claimed knowledge of Greek to be unnecessary. "God," he said, "has not bound together His wisdom and His law with certain letters or apexes of any individual language."⁸ To go so far was not usual Reformation logic, but we will see it recur in Coverdale whose contribution to the 'stylistic' matter we shall discuss is of decisive importance.

I have had to simplify Schwarz's arguments, ignoring much that is convincing both in evidence and qualification. However, one qualification should be made here lest the reader lose any faith in this study. No real translation is either pure philology or pure inspiration; pure philology would turn the translator into a mere machine and render his understanding of no consequence. Pure inspiration would make him no translator, since he would need no text, the Holy Spirit alone sufficing. Luther, for example, certainly believed in and made use of philology; he represents the inspirational view only because he held theology and spiritual experience to be of considerable importance, of far greater importance than did Erasmus for instance, from whose philological efforts, nevertheless, Luther gained much.

II

I now turn to the one matter whose contemporary English defences, apologies, and explanations are the special interest of this paper, namely, the use of several English words regarded as synonyms to render the same Greek or Hebrew word. This may appear a trivial point, but it has appeared trivial to few of the many persons who have been involved in translating the Bible into English. In the period with which we are concerned, 'synonyms' were defended by Coverdale for his own Bible and by the apologists for the Bishops' Bible and for the King James Bible; for failing to use them,

Tyndale was attacked. Indeed it is the one matter on which all close discussion of what we call the style of the English Bible seems to concentrate. The only other matter discussed at much length or frequently is the relative obscurity (or clarity) of this or that version, with which the question of synonyms is in fact related.

The extraordinary concentration of interest on this point has been characteristic not only of the Reformation, but of the modern era as well—since it has been one of the major occupations of the modern period to reverse the practice of the King James Bible in this respect, and to explain and defend the reversal. Bishop Lightfoot, preparing the way for the revision of 1881, devoted nearly a third of his book, *On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament*⁹ to the inexactitudes and misimpressions caused by the failure to render consistently. Bishop Westcott in his study following the publication of the revision, *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament*,¹⁰ finds the source of his most important lessons in the new consistency, the "arbitrariness" of the older English versions appearing to him "incapable of any serious or substantial defence."¹¹ The Revised Standard Version of the New Testament (1946) apparently attempted to modify the Revised Version in this respect,¹² but the second edition (1952) yielded again through making, according to the "Preface," "about eighty changes . . . most of these . . . in the interest of the identical rendering of identical Greek in parallel passages . . . or in the interest of consistency in handling the textual evidence."¹³

The result of the immense energy which has gone into defending consistent rendering is twofold: (1) Consistency has achieved a considerable rationale of its own. (2) The alternative is either forgotten or rejected out of hand. Why has the alternative been so completely lost?

Hand in hand with the rise of "the phil-

ological view" of Bible translation has gone the movement for studying "the Bible as Literature." The connection may seem remote but I shall try to explain: From the philological point of view, where any translation differs, however so slightly, from the text translated—whether the difference be planned or unplanned, avoidable or not avoidable—it must be regarded as inaccurate. Inaccuracies must be regarded as bad for religious purposes. But they may not necessarily be regarded as bad for every purpose. And if one possessed a huge reservoir of sentiment and belief in the value of a particular translation, as the English-speaking world has had for the King James Version, the inaccuracies may be transferred to some other realm where they may be regarded as good. So it seems to have happened. The "other realm" is literature; and so the King James Bible is called bad religion but good literature. That something like this *did* happen is made more credible by the fact that the King James Version was by no means universally regarded as a literary gem during the period when its religious standing was unchallenged. C. S. Lewis has recently pointed this out,¹⁴ citing Harwood's 18th century attempt to supplant "the bald and barbarous language of the old vulgar edition" with his own new and more 'elegant' version. But whether or not my account (or Lewis') is sound, this much is clear: The 'inaccuracies' are now frequently considered the source of much of the literary excellence ascribed to the King James Version. This modern attitude might be called 'the literary view.'

Sir Frederick Kenyon in *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* is one of the clearest spokesmen of the literary view: "And in the New Testament, in particular," he says, "it is the simple truth that the English version is a far greater *literary* work than the original Greek. The Greek of the New Testament is a language which had passed its prime, and had lost its natural grace and

infinite adaptability. The English of the Authorized Version is the finest specimen of our prose literature at a time when English prose wore its stateliest and most majestic form."¹⁵

A similar view was held by Westcott,¹⁶ by the revisers of the version of 1881, and by the representatives of our present American revision, whose "Preface" passes the opinion on to our own generation.¹⁷ Probably of great influence in literary circles has been the exuberant claim for the 'stylistic' merit of the King James Version in George Saintsbury's *History of English Prose*, and particularly germane to this study is the statement in which he specifies "that a very large part of the excellence of the Authorized Version in style and rhythm is due to the use of synonyms or quasi-synonyms."¹⁸

We have lost an understanding of what lay behind the earlier usage, in short, because we hold a theory which for various reasons suits us better, and which has so exclusively dominated our approach to the King James Bible that we have given little attention to any other possibilities. I do not wish to argue that the literary-excellence theory is wrong; it would take an exceedingly scrupulous comparison of the English with the original texts and a careful choice of the right aesthetic theory to give weight to such an argument. I suspect that an equally weighty affirmation could be constructed according to the same plan. But surely we should try to understand, in addition to our own notions, the notions of the men who determined the earlier practice. Although the evidence does show traces of concern for literary qualities, by far the greater weight and the more natural interpretation of the contemporary explanations shows the decision to render with synonyms, and the tradition that followed it through 1611, to be the result of the inspirational view—and of politics, if one takes the *via media* to be more politics than theology—participating in the struggle to represent ac-

curately ("faithfully" was their term) the Word of God in English.

III

"By this [Tyndale's] translation shal we losse al thies christian wordes, penance, charita, confession, grace, prest, chirche, which he alway calleth a congregation," complained Robert Ridley,¹⁹ in the first remarks on the diction of the English Bible known to me.

Tyndale's translation was not only intended to make the Bible clear, but to make it clear by using the most accurate English words, i.e., words that conveyed God's truth. Those customary church words whose meaning had been determined by scholastic philosophy were not accurate; such words substituted men's traditions for the Word of God, and Tyndale, fundamentally Protestant as he was, eschewed them. He eschewed them so consistently, Ridley claimed, that supposing his translation to prevail, the old words would pass right out of the language. This seems an unlikely possibility to us, but it must have seemed far more likely when the English language was still in an early stage of formation, when religion occupied a far greater portion of the reading man's attention than it does now, and when there was a powerful movement underfoot to make the Bible almost the whole of religion.

But the more important basis of Ridley's and two years later of Sir Thomas More's similar objection to Tyndale's consistent diction was its pernicious meaning. As More explains, Tyndale's attitude toward language resulted from his draughts at the poisonous fountain of those "damnable heresyes . . . that all our salvacyon standyth in fayth alone, and toward our salvacyon nothyng force of good workys, therefore yt semeth that he laboreth of purpose to mynyshe the reverent mynd that men bere to charyte, and therefore he chaungeth that name of holy vertuous affeccyon, in to the bare name of love comen to the vertuous love that man

berith to god, and to the lewd love that is bytwene flekke and his make."²⁰ Not the diction but the doctrine troubled Ridley and More.²¹ Salvation by faith alone led Tyndale to scorn morality, argues More, and this explains his translating with the common word 'love' instead of the moral virtue 'charity.' The two words were *not* synonyms. To use one word consistently implied a whole religious system; to use the other word, another system. If the medieval church understood the truth of God, then its words were right, but if it did not, then its words were wrong. Both sides in this argument seemed to identify God's meaning with the particular words used; indeed the most serious and ultimate meanings, as far as the times felt them, were identified with the terms—the old terms being assigned one ultimate meaning, the new terms another one.

Tyndale's consistent diction set the stage; the action that we are concerned with began with Coverdale. Coverdale thought that by using variety of diction he could prevent the objections Tyndale met: "And this manner have I used in my translacyon, callyng it in some place pennaunce, that in another place I call repentaunce, and that not onely because the interpreters have done so before me, but that the adversaries of the trueth maye se, how that we abhorre not this worde pennaunce (as they untruly reporte of us) no more than the interpreters of latyn abhorre penitere, when they reade respicere," he says in the Prologue to his 1535 Bible.²² The inclusion of both words could satisfy both parties. The move shows shrewd political insight, no doubt; but how could Coverdale admit the offending words without also admitting compromise in the truth as he saw it—i.e., through Protestant eyes?

According to the argument used against Tyndale, one set of words had one meaning and another set had another—and an ultimately different—meaning. So it may have seemed to many, but Coverdale denied it:

both sets of words had the same meaning. And this same meaning was of course the true meaning which God intended in his Holy Writ, i.e., the meaning which had been restored, by God's grace, to the understanding of the Reformers. Coverdale did assert that the translator might rightly alternate the old church word with the new Protestant word, but only as long as both were understood rightly: "Onely," he added, "our hertes desyre unto God, is, that his people be not blynded in theyr understandyng, lest they beleve penaunce to be ought save a very repentaunce, amendment, or conversyon unto God."²³ In words as hotly debated as 'repentance' and 'penance' Coverdale's claim for identity of meaning might have seemed scarcely credible even to himself, and as his explanation continues he introduces examples of a less controversial character to support the principle: "Be not offended therfore (good Reader) though one call a scribe, that another calleth a lawyer: or elders, that another calleth father and mother: or repentaunce, that another calleth pennaunce or amendment." But he reminds the reader again that the source of the identity rests in the reader's clear understanding: "For yf thou be not disceaved by mens tradicions, though shalt fynde no more dyversite betwene these termes then betwene foure pens and a grote."²⁴

Before going on to the more important part of Coverdale's explanations, let us observe several things: First, the defence of variety in words of major theological significance draws in also instances where theological significance is remote. Second, although Coverdale presents himself as belonging to the Reformation party, his action is clearly a moderate one; he may say that the old ecclesiastical words are to take on the Reformation meaning, but the new words are in fact equally likely to take on the old meaning. Furthermore, the mere presence of the old words provides continuity with the old Church. Third, and most

important for the general theory of Bible translation, Coverdale sees that the meaning of words is not only determined by their usage in history or in the disputations or treatises or conversations occurring around him, but that he also, acting as a spokesman for God's Holy Word in the English language, participates in determining the meaning of that language. So he *asserts* that the words 'penance' and 'repentance' have the same meaning—both translating the same original—however they may appear in other contexts to have different meanings. He believes apparently that by his assertion (and usage) he can make the old word come to have the same meaning as the new one. A translator who conceives of himself in this light does not suppose himself to be a humble philologist only.

But if not humble philologist, why not call him creative artist? We can identify him in any way we wish, of course, but Coverdale does not conceive of himself as a creative artist if we define that term to mean one who is *himself* the origin of something new in the world. He sees himself as a prophet—understanding 'prophet' to mean one who is a voice for the Holy Spirit. That the Holy Ghost speaks through him—and other Bible translators—is a position he takes quite naturally, without arrogance, although he is aware of some need to show his humility: "And though I seme to be al to scrupulous callyng it in one place penaunce, that in another I call repentaunce: and gelded, that another calleth chaist, thys me thynk ought not to offende the seynge that the holy goost (I trust) is the authore of both our doynge." ²⁵

The assumption, usual with inspirationalists, that the Word of God is not to be identified with the particular terms of some particular language, was implicit in Coverdale's reference to readers who are "blynded in theyr understandyng." This phrase implies that the power to understand the meaning of scripture does not so much rest in a

precise knowledge of the language one is reading, as in the gift of faith by which one's understanding is illuminated. The translator, however deeply inspired or learned himself, cannot, by the most sublimely perfect translation, communicate the Word of God to a "blynded" reader. The translator and reader *both* must have minds illuminated by the Holy Ghost for a proper reading of the Scriptures, and it is from this source, not lexicons or other experience with language, that the true meaning is found: "As the holy goost then is one, workynge in the and me as he wyl, so let us not swarve from that unite, but be one in him. And for my parte I ensure the I am indifferent to call it aswell with the one terme as with the other, so longe as I knowe that it is no prejudice nor injury to the meanyng of the holy goost." ²⁶

This implicit assumption was especially clear in Jacob Latomus' argument that one need not know Greek to understand the New Testament. Although Coverdale does not, as far as I know, argue this point, in fact he did not know Greek; his New Testament was based upon one English, two Latin and two German texts. ²⁷ For adherents of the inspirational view any right translation may be as genuinely inspired as the original. Hence fully consistent with his other views is Coverdale's remark about some Bible phrases quoted in Latin, that it is the "holy gooste that hath put them in [to the Bible]." ²⁸

Precisely at the point where unscholarly (i.e., non-philological) Coverdale affects the tradition, C. S. Lewis, generally a foe of the literary view, is obliged to imagine aesthetic considerations most determinative: "Coverdale was probably the one whose choice of a rendering came nearest to being determined by taste. His defects as well as his qualities led to this. Of all the translators he was the least scholarly. Among men like Erasmus, Tyndale, Munster, or the Jesuits at Rheims he shows like a rowing boat among battleships. This gave him a kind of

freedom. Unable to judge between rival interpretations, he may often have been guided, half consciously, to select and combine by taste. Fortunately his taste was admirable."²⁹ It may be so, but Coverdale had other explanations.

IV

Coverdale's statements have been treated in detail because they carried the day—and the era. No one successfully challenged his position, that is, no one through 1611, which is the terminal point of this investigation. However, the position was challenged—unsuccessfully. In a letter concerning the proposed Bishop's Bible, Cox, Bishop of Ely, urged "if ye translate *bonitas* or *miseri-cordia*, . . . use it likewise in all places of the Psalms, &c."³⁰ Guest, Bishop of Rochester, reported in a letter to Parker accompanying some manuscript of his translation that "where in the New Testament one piece of a Psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalms according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that may rise to the people upon divers translations."³¹ And Hugh Broughton in his *Epistle . . . Touching Translating the Bible* (1597) wrote that since the New Testament comes mostly from the Old the translator should translate identities identically: "So the Bible should bee shorter for memorie by a quarter: when the minde should see what was plaine afore, and is but repeated."³² Probably because his views were alarming, Bishop Guest's work was not used;³³ and Hugh Broughton, noted more for his extreme opinions and choleric temper than for his acknowledged learning in 'oriental' languages, was ostentatiously excluded from the long roster of translators for the King James Version. Thus, the claims that disputation could be avoided by consistent renderings, or the memory aided, seem to have been considered and rejected.

The continuity of Coverdale's position is more positively indicated by William Fulke's

Defence of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue (1st ed., 1583).³⁴ Fulke was a well known and respected scholar, another of whose volumes on the English Scriptures³⁵ was, according to Alfred Pollard, "for over forty years . . . a standard work on the Protestant side, and probably every reviser of the New Testament for the edition of 1611 possessed it."³⁶ *The Defence of the Sincere and True Translations* is a lengthy, item-for-item quotation from and rebuttal of the "cavils, frivolous quarels, and impudent slaunders of Gregorie Martin, one of the readers of Popish divinitie in the trayterous Seminarie of Rhemes."³⁷ Gregory Martin was also, it may be added, one of the chief translators of the Douay Bible. Martin's "cavils" and Fulke's rebuttals are frequently concerned with the practice under discussion here. And I take it to be a sign of Coverdale's tactical success when Martin is driven to complain that the Protestants have spoiled the argument by their inconsistent use of language: "The controversy being of 'faith' and 'works,' of 'justice' and 'justification' by works, of the 'worthiness' or value of works; why do you not precisely keep these terms pertaining to the controversy. . . . It were very good in Matters of controversy to be precise."³⁸ Fulke's defence of variety is just what Martin knows in advance it will be: "I know you will tell us," says Martin, "that you use to say 'deeds' or 'works' indifferently; as also you may say, that you put no difference between 'just' and 'righteous,' 'meet' and 'worthy,' but use both indifferently."³⁹ Explains Fulke, answering a similar objection in another place (which I choose for brevity; the same argument is tirelessly reiterated): "This is a marvellous difference, never heard of (I think) in the English tongue before, between 'just' and 'righteous,' 'justice' and 'righteousness.' I am sure there is none of our translators, no, nor any professor of justification by faith only, that esteemeth it the worth of one

hair, whether you say in any place of scripture 'just' or 'righteous,' 'justice' or 'righteousness'; and therefore freely they have used sometimes the one word, sometimes the other."⁴⁰ Martin of course accuses the Protestant translators of making false distinctions by not using always the same word when the same meaning is intended, which he asserts they then use to support their case on the controverted issues. Since we are not interested in the truth or falsehood of the claims, but only in Fulke's defence, it is sufficient to note here that Fulke's argument is identical, as far as it goes, to Coverdale's. Fulke does not refer to the Holy Ghost, but he asserts the identity of meaning of two much debated theological terms. Obviously there are two different words, but, claims Fulke, one and the same meaning; and the truth is to be found in the oneness of the meaning, not in the twoness of the words. Implicit, of course, is the assumption basic to the inspirational view that meaning is separable from particular terminology.

The last of the statements to be examined here is the preface to the King James Version, entitled "The Translator to the Reader," and written by Dr. Miles Smith, who was also one of the two final revisers. Although nothing fundamentally new will be found in it, it is the best known of all the statements on diction and is worthy of full quotation. It is long, and I shall quote it in two parts:

An other thing we thinke good to admonish thee of (gentle Reader) that wee have not tyed our selves to an uniformitie of phrasing, or to an identitie of words, as some peradventure would wish that we had done, because they observe, that some learned men some where, have beene as exact as they could that way. Truly, that we might not varie from the sence of that which we had translated before, if the word signified the same thing in both places (for there bee some wordes that bee not of the same sence every where) we were especially carefull, and made a conscience, according to our duetie. But, that we should expresse the same notion in the same particular word; as for example, if we translate the *Hebrew* or

Greeke word once by *Purpose*, never to call it *Intent*; if one where *Journeying*, never *Travelling*; if one where *Thinke*, never *Suppose*; if one where *Paine*, never *Ache*; if one where *Joy*, never *Gladnesse*, etc. Thus to minse the matter, wee thought to savour more of curiositie than wisdome, and that rather it would breed scorne in the Atheist, then bring profite to the godly Reader. For is the kingdome of God become words or syllables? why should wee be in bondage to them, if we may be free, use one precisely, when wee may use another no lesse fit, as commodiously? A godly Father, in the Primitive time shewed himselfe greatly moved, that one of newfangelnes called *κράββατον σκιμυρος*, though the difference be little or none: and another reporteth, that he was much abused for turning *Concumbita* (to which reading the people had been used) into *Hedera*. Now if this happen in better times, and upon so small occasions, wee might justly feare hard censure, if generally wee should make verball and unnecessary changings. We might also be charged (by scoffers) with some unequall dealing towards a great number of good English wordes. For as it is written of a certaine great Philosopher, that he should say, that those logs were happie that were made images to be worshipped; for their fellowes, as good as they, lay for blockes behinde the fire: so if wee should say, as it were, unto certaine wordes, Stand up higher, have a place in the Bible alwayes, and to others of like qualitie, Get ye hence, be banished for ever, wee might be taxed peradventure with *S. James* his words, namely, *To be partiall in our selves, and judges of evil thoughts*. Adde hereunto, that nicenesse in wordes was alwayes counted the next step to trifling, and so was to bee curious about names too: also that we cannot follow a better pattern for elocution than God himselfe, therefore hee using divers words, in his holy writ, and indifferently for one thing in nature: we, if wee will not be superstitious, may use the same libertie in our English versions out of *Hebrew* and *Greeke*, for that copie or store that he hath given us.⁴¹

The assumption basic to the argument is now familiar: That they should "expresse the same notion in the same particular word" they thought unwise. They considered it "superstitious" to make only some certain English words holy. "Is the kingdom of God become words or syllables?"

One may note also the high sense of responsibility accepted by the translators. They, the translators of the Bible, have a

determinative effect on the English language. Smith's notion of this power is similar to, though more limited than, Coverdale's, perhaps because the language had grown more fixed in the intervening period. Coverdale had been conscious of his power to affect the meaning of terms, whereas Smith asserts the translator's power over their status only, by deciding whether some words are to be admitted or rejected. The Bible translator determines their worthiness and currency in the language. In this the translators must be impartial, and must not create an idolatrous veneration for certain words, as though some particular terms were more holy, more 'saving' than others.

The argument is mixed; no more than any others were the King James translators pure inspirationalists. Though far more deeply committed to the inspirational view than any moderns, the King James translators *were* translators and of a rather conservative philological sort in some respects; they certainly use the Hebrew and Greek texts (though not these alone) and they see these texts, according to Smith, in the way traditionally associated with the philological view as the languages of "God himself."

The rest of the passage on diction from the preface to the King James Version, though not a defence for rendering with synonyms, shows a closely related policy which seems to be determined by the same politically moderate attitude we found in Coverdale. There is no ellipsis between the beginning of this passage and the end of the long passage quoted above:

"Lastly, wee have on the one side avoided the scrupulositie of the Puritanes, who leave the olde Ecclesiasticall words, and betake them to other, as when they put *washing* for *Baptisme*, and *Congregation* in stead of *Church*: as also on the other side we have shunned the obscuritie of the Papists, in their *Azimes*, *Tunike*, *Rational*, *Holocausts*, *Praeface*, *Pasche*, and a number of such like, whereof their late Translation is full, and that of purpose to darken the sence, that since they must needs translate the Bible, yet by the language thereof, it

may bee kept from being understood. But we desire that the Scripture may speake like it selfe, as in the language of *Canaan*, that it may bee understood even of the very vulgar."⁴⁸

The effect of this policy is the opposite of the other since it seems to try to explain why, in some cases where 'synonyms' existed, the translators chose one of the available words only. Sufficient reason to exclude an English word is apparently found where the word is too closely associated with some religious party, and Smith is careful to select instances representing Puritans and Papists both.

Both decisions about diction, although opposite in effect, may be looked upon as related to the Anglican *via media* if one remembers that a man remains in the same place whether his feet stand astride a path or both stand squarely in the middle. That is, the Anglican position may be seen as including *both* Rome and Geneva with about as much justice as standing *half-way-between* Rome and Geneva. How well this accords with the rest of the ecclesiastical history of the period I do not know, but it does accord with the contemporary theory on diction. And for this 'political' reason alone I should think the practice of the King James translators ought not to be called "arbitrary." But the men who made these decisions were not chiefly politicians or social theorists, and the more serious ground for their freedom in matters of style—at least in the matter of synonyms—was, of course, the inspirational view, an attitude not tied, as politics is, to time or place, even though it may not be spiritually possible except at certain times and places.

V

Supposing that this treatment of 'synonyms' represents fairly the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century thinking about all the distinctive qualities we call style, what does it mean for the way *we* should consider

the character and quality of the King James Version? Does it mean we must give up the notion of the "majesty" or the "nobility" of its prose?

Obviously we are not forced to regard the King James Bible as the sixteenth and seventeenth century did, and this for two reasons. In the first place, we are not compelled to hold the same theories those centuries held about prose literature any more than we must hold to the Ptolemaic theory because some men of wit and learning once held it. In the second place, we are not compelled to give up the literary-excellence theory, because it is quite compatible with the inspirational view. *Indeed it is exactly the inspirational view which is the foundation for a religiously acceptable literary version, just as the philological view destroys it.*

However, we are forced to acknowledge that this was historically the source of the style we admire, and that it is not historically accurate to regard that style as the result of literary effects half-consciously or unconsciously grafted onto what might otherwise have been a sounder version.

This might have been acknowledged without the present study. However, we should also be willing to surrender the notion that the only alternative to a strictly philological approach to Bible translation is a literary view in which in the interests of style the strictly faithful rendering of the Word of God is sacrificed to certain additions to, subtractions from, or other distortions of, one-hundred-per-cent truth.

So much for the primary purpose of this study. In view of our involvement in a new age of great activity in Bible translation, I should like to risk an additional conclusion. (I say "risk" although I believe it to be a simple deduction from the foregoing.) I predict that no great translation of the Bible into English will be produced until some form of the inspirational view is sufficiently current to encourage and defend it. This 'risky' assertion rests on the notion that a

Bible translation cannot be great unless it communicates the Word of God with power and conviction to a believing community, that it is this power and not any supposed literary excellence that constitutes its greatness. To the extent that the religious authority of any translation is presumed to rest upon purely philological matters, it will be either crudely word-for-word, as is the interlinear Bible recently brought to my door by a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses, or it will be scientific, traditional, and flat, as is the Revised Standard Version. If it tries to be anything more, whether it be the result of the personal insight and power of a J. B. Phillips or the effect of poets on the translating committee of a new British revision, it will suffer the criticism of private addition or distortion of the authentic original. How can it be otherwise if one proceeds upon the basic assumption that the Holy Spirit spoke once, wholly, finally, and exactly in certain ancient languages?

I suspect that the assumption of a literally inspired ancient language in its more virulent modern form represents a hangover from Mechanistic Deism (God once operative in 'winding up' the clockwork world which now, essentially Spirit-less, merely unwinds) stirred together with Romantic Primitivism (the past the source of all miracle and all goodness; the present corrupt, or, at best, commonplace and uninteresting). The continuing presence of these views in religion is perhaps not so surprising because they have been abandoned in most other important areas of twentieth-century culture. If these are indeed the forces which determine our attitude toward the source of inspiration in the Holy Scriptures, they will have to vanish before a great new English Bible can come into existence.

A great Bible translation will come, in short, only if it is accompanied—as was the King James Version—by a persuasive and authentic theological or spiritual awakening such that the believing community will find

in that Bible (and in the movement that produced it) the very Word of God himself actively creating, sustaining, and redeeming his world, not a mere limping "as nearly accurate as possible" version of that Word. Such a Bible cannot be produced merely because some man or group of men might think it is a good idea; only God can make it happen. But only such a Bible will produce the confidence Smith showed in the translations of the English reformers when he asserted:

That wee doe not deny, nay, wee affirme and avow, that the very meanest translation of the Bible in English, set foorth by men of our profession [the Reformer's profession, justification by faith in Jesus Christ] . . . containeth the word of God, nay, is the word of God. As the Kings Speech which hee uttered in Parliament, being translated into *French, Dutch, Italian, and Latine*, is still the Kings Speech, though it be not interpreted by every Translator with the like grace, nor peradventure so fitly for phrase, nor so expresly for sence, every where.¹⁸

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¹ Cambridge, England, 1955.

² I put the word 'stylistic' in quotes, because, as used about the English Bible, the word conveys to the modern ear an historically inaccurate attitude, as this article will show.

³ Where I have used the word 'original' instead of the more accurate but clumsier 'text translated from,' I put it in quotes to remind the reader how difficult it is to ascertain the origins of the texts we call "original." And when we turn 'original' into 'inspired original,' the difficulties become immense—but very pertinent to Bible translation. On the assumption that the Bible is the result of a long process of accretion, as is probable, on what serious grounds are certain accretions considered inspired, but others are not? For example, why the Hebrew Old Testament and not the Septuagint? Are the accretions supplied by Jewish priests and scribes in the Hebrew language to be regarded as inspired, but those supplied by Jewish priests and scribes in the Greek language to be rejected? Then indeed does God speak in certain holy languages. But if, on the contrary, no accretions are to be considered inspired, where does one stop in the stripping off process? By the time we have rejected all the accretions we shall be left with a greatly attenuated

version of what we now call the Bible, if we are left with anything at all.

⁴ Ep. LVII, 5 (P. L. vol. xxii. col. 571), quoted here from Schwarz, *Principles*, p. 34.

⁵ If one wishes to render sense-for-sense without claiming to be a prophet, he finds himself in an extraordinarily difficult position. The 'sense' is presumed to be the Word of God; to be the spokesman for the Word of God is to be a prophet. One who would insist on calling himself a mere philologist and yet render sense-for-sense, must confess that his version is simply inaccurate, and the more inaccurate the further he has gone beyond a merely literal rendering. This was approximately Erasmus' position and confession.

⁶ *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 42-3 (P.L. vol. xli, cols. 602-4), quoted here from Schwarz, *Principles*, p. 41.

⁷ Luther, *Werke*, Weimar Ausgabe (Weimar, 1883-), vol. vii, p. 546 (21-9), quoted from Schwarz, *Principles*, p. 171.

⁸ Jacob Latomus, *De trium linguarum* (Froben, Basel, 1518), no. 40 (p. 56), quoted from Schwarz, *Principles*, p. 165.

⁹ London, 1871.

¹⁰ London, 1903.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹² Luther A. Weigle (ed.), *An Introduction to the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament* (The International Council of Religious Education, 1946), Chap. 1. "The Revision of the English Bible," by the editor, pp. 11-12.

¹³ P. viii. I am informed in conversation with Luther A. Weigle that only six of these changes reflected an attempt to render identities identically.

¹⁴ *The Literary Impact of the Authorised Version* (London, 1950), pp. 20-22.

¹⁵ Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (London, 1895), p. 233.

¹⁶ *Some Lessons of the Revised Version*, p. 67.

¹⁷ RSV (1952), p. iii.

¹⁸ (London, 1912), p. 155.

¹⁹ Letter to Henry Gold, February 24 [1527], from British Museum Cotton MS: Cleopatra E.V. 362^b, printed in Alfred Pollard, *Records of the English Bible* (London, 1911), p. 124.

²⁰ "A Dyaloge of Syr Thomas More," 1529, printed in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 129-30. "Flekke and his make," i.e., a man and his mistress.

²¹ See the whole of Ridley's letter, printed in Pollard, *Records*, pp. 122-125.

²² "Myles Coverdale unto the Christian Reader," n.p.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Myles Coverdale, Preface, "To the Reader," in his Latin-English New Testament, printed in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 212.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 12. Coverdale was more heavily dependent on Luther's Bible (hence on Luther's attitude toward Bible translation?) than has yet been recognized if further work should bear out Heinz Bluhm's conclusions for Coverdale's Galatians. See "Luther and the First Printed English Bible: Epistle to the Galatians," *Anglican Theological Review*, XL (October, 1958), pp. 264-294.

²⁸ "Preface" to the Latin-English New Testament, printed in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 212.

²⁹ *The Literary Impact of the Authorized Version*, p. 11.

³⁰ In a letter to Parker dated May 3, 1566, printed in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 291.

³¹ Printed in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, p. 290.

³² Hugh Broughton, *Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie of England Touching Translating the Bible*

From the Original, With Ancient Warrant For Everie Worde, Unto the Full Satisfaction of Any That Be of Hart (1597), p. 50. The discussion of consistent rendering is the fifth of eight parts making up his long essay on this subject.

³³ So comments Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 31 and 290.

³⁴ Ed. (for Parker Society) by the Rev. Charles Henry Hartshorne (Cambridge, 1843).

³⁵ *The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ* . . . (1580). The "text" was really two texts, the Rheims and the Bishops' Bibles printed in parallel columns, copiously annotated. It was reprinted in 1589 and 1601, as well as several times after 1611.

³⁶ *Records of the English Bible*, in an editorial comment, p. 37.

³⁷ Fulke, t.p.

³⁸ Quoted by Fulke, p. 367.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Fulke, p. 337.

⁴¹ As reprinted from the first edition in Pollard, *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 374-375.

⁴² *Ibid.* pp. 375-376.

⁴³ As printed from the first edition in Pollard, *Records*, p. 362.

The Lilly Endowment Study of Pre-Seminary Education

J. ARTHUR BAIRD*

ON June 13, 1960, sixteen men met together in the library conference room at Union Seminary in Richmond and formally inaugurated the "Lilly Endowment Study of Pre-Seminary Education in the Colleges and Universities in the United States and Canada."¹ This meeting was the culmination of three years of work on the part of the NABI Subcommittee on Pre-Theological Studies, now a joint committee of the NABI and the AATS. There was a general feeling of elation within the group, not only because of the magnificent support of the Lilly Endowment, Inc., but because of the significance of what the meeting represented. As far as any could recall, this was the first time that the National Association of Biblical Instructors and the American Association of Theological Schools had ever joined together in a common project of any size. Furthermore, this meeting was a visible symbol of what seemed to be a brand new situation arising in theological education. It was also symptomatic of the creative, new measures being undertaken to meet these new occasions.

The New Situation

During the last thirty years there have been indications of a quiet but increasingly noticeable revolution going on in theological education in America. Coupled with the changing picture in higher education generally, this has produced a new and challenging situation for those concerned with

the religious life of this continent and especially with the training of ministers and church workers. At least five dimensions may be identified in describing this new situation.

1. *Strengthening the Seminaries.* One special feature of this changing situation is the strengthening of theological education at the seminary level. The recently completed Carnegie study has shown that in 1955 there were "four times as many graduate schools of theology in the United States and Canada . . . as there were in 1923 and that such schools enroll almost eight times as many students as they did thirty-two years previously."² This study further reports that not less than eighty per cent of the estimated total enrollment of theological students in the United States and Canada consists of college graduates, compared with an estimated forty-four per cent in 1924.

2. *Increasing Complexity.* Another of the more obvious facts of the seminary picture is the increasingly complex nature of the ministry, and the resulting proliferation of courses in the evolving seminary curricula. As the Carnegie study further points out, the traditional three-year program does not allow sufficient time today to provide all the disciplines essential to a broad, specialized, and complicated ministry. Already new courses and entire areas have been added to the curricula to the point where the traditional subjects of Bible, Church History and Theology are under serious jeopardy.³

3. *The "New Force" in Theological Education.* Another dimension of this theological renaissance is the strengthening of the teaching of religion in colleges and universities. A study by Seymour Smith has revealed

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that "in the 1920's tax-supported schools averaged 2.5 courses in religion per institution. By the 1930's the average had increased to five courses, and in 1958 it stood at almost nine courses per institution."⁴ The Carnegie report also noted an "increased interest on the part of the universities in theological inquiry."⁵ According to a recent study by the Committee on Weekday Religious Education of the National Council of Churches, there are 402 colleges and universities in America offering courses in religion, Bible or religious education. The increasing number of books and articles in biblical and religious journals written by college and university professors, the growing percentage of Ph.D. degrees held by this group and the number of seminarians training for teaching religion in undergraduate schools all point to a rising "new force" in theological higher education that is demanding consideration in the total discussion of what will strengthen the religious life of America.

4. *Changing Situations in the Colleges.* Along with increased strength in theological education at the undergraduate level, other facets of a changed situation are emerging and requiring a re-evaluation of certain established convictions about pre-seminary education. For example, the tendencies in American professional life toward specialization, and the consequent pressures upon college departments from the graduate schools, are producing a situation where departmental major requirements are in some cases becoming more and more pre-professional. This is calling into serious question the conviction that to advise a student to major in some department other than religion is to assure him of "a broad preparation for seminary." The only published study of this question, the Wooster Survey printed in this *Journal* for October, 1959 strongly suggests that no one major field *per se* insures breadth, but rather that the tendency of the whole major system is in the opposite direc-

tion. The Wooster study points out the danger that to advise a student to major in History, English or Philosophy is merely to channel him into an area outside his vocational interest. There are many who have expressed concern to the NABI study committee that pressures within various departments to go into professional work in those other fields are having disastrous effects upon the erstwhile pre-theological plans of some of their finest students.⁶ These and many other factors are demanding a new look at the situation in undergraduate institutions.

5. *A New Vision of Totality.* In recent years, through articles, addresses and study committees, there has been a growing insistence that theological education is not limited to the graduate seminary but is rather a total fabric woven throughout both undergraduate and graduate curricula. This is the conviction embodied in the first report of the NABI Subcommittee on Pre-Theological Studies and adopted as a statement of policy by the NABI in December, 1958.⁷ This would seem to be at least one implication of the Lilly Endowment Study of Pre-Seminary Education; the NABI and the AATS are now united in examining this whole question.

New Approaches

What we have said so far must necessarily be put in the subjunctive mood, for there are limited concrete empirical data from which to draw firm conclusions. One encouraging aspect of the present scene, however, is the concern of a number of groups to examine theological education in America carefully and empirically. The recently completed Carnegie study is well known and generally recognized as an outstanding answer to this need. What is perhaps not as fully realized is the fact that this study restricts itself to the graduate dimension of theological education, although fully granting the significance of colleges and universities in the total picture.⁸ Many other groups are studying var-

ious phases of theological education including that of the colleges and universities; among these are the National Council on Religion in Higher Education, the Religious Education Association, the Commission on Higher Education of the National Council of Churches, the Council of the Humanities at Princeton University, the Council on Graduate Studies in Religion, and several others such as Wooster College, Bluffton College and the University of Michigan. The last-mentioned institution sponsored the National Consultative Conference on Religion and the State University in 1958.

Out of these new approaches the suggestion has come of at least three directions in which to look for the solution to the problem of educating candidates for an adequate ministry. The first has to do with the seminary curriculum itself, either planning for a four year curriculum or making the three year curriculum more relevant. The second approach is that stressed by the Carnegie Study, namely, the instituting of post-seminary in-service training programs for ministers in the field.⁹ The third approach is the one least explored to date, that of increasing the adequacy of undergraduate, pre-seminary preparation to the point where the best use can be made of the seminary as a truly graduate education. The Niebuhr committee did point in this direction when it reported that "the general tendency among the schools to accept 'an A.B. from an accredited college' as sufficient credential for entrance on the seminary course needs correction."¹⁰ It has seemed increasingly apparent to the members of the NABI Subcommittee on Pre-Theological Studies that more attention is going to have to be paid to undergraduate preparation for seminary. Greater effort must be made to understand accurately this dimension of the total picture of theological education in America.

The above has been the specific concern of the NABI Subcommittee on Pre-Theological Studies since its formation three

years ago. It was the concern of the NABI in December of 1959 when it granted that Subcommittee \$500 to continue its search for financial support. It was the concern of the Lilly Endowment, Inc. when last spring it accepted the plan proposed by the NABI-AATS Committee and made \$85,000 available to carry on this work. And this continues to be the concern of the recently formed Board of Directors of the Lilly Endowment Study of Pre-Seminary Education. The Board is now comprised of the eight members of the old NABI Subcommittee, including the President of the NABI, four members appointed by the AATS, and three members "representing an interest in the ministry from outside the direct stream of theological education." It was this Board of Directors that met last June in Richmond and formally voted to constitute itself and to approve the project as outlined. An executive committee was elected with the present writer as Chairman and Dr. Charles Taylor as treasurer. Professor A. Roy Eckardt was appointed chairman of a subcommittee to carry to a conclusion the search already begun for full-time directors.

The plan calls for an empirical study of pre-seminary education in the colleges and universities of the United States and Canada. It will involve analyses of four basic areas: (1) As the project is presently envisaged, communication is to be established with all 178 seminaries listed by the Carnegie Study. Questionnaires will be directed to faculty and administration, and a representative number of schools will be chosen for actual visitation. (2) All colleges and universities having courses in religion will be surveyed, and a representative number will be chosen for visitation. Questionnaires and interviews will make contact with all those connected in any significant way with the teaching of religion and the counseling of pre-seminary students, and also with a sufficient number of students to comprehend student experience and point of view. (3)

All denominations significantly engaged in theological higher education will be contacted. Appropriate persons having knowledge of what each denomination is doing in the field of pre-seminary training and in the whole area of correlating the work of college and seminary will be consulted. (4) The final area is that of students and pastors who have come up through various types of undergraduate preparation and have then faced certain representative types of seminary education. A cross-section of colleges and universities will be urged to undertake studies of representative groups of graduates who have gone into the ministry or other phases of religious work.

It is anticipated that the project will study some 600 seminaries, universities, and colleges, including visits to a good sample of these and surveys of a considerable number of faculty members and students. The plan calls for the ultimate publication of the results of the study. The span of the project is expected to be two years from the date of its formal inception.

The overriding concern of the Lilly Endowment Study will be to comprehend the nature and quality of undergraduate re-

sources in religion and other areas and to discover how these can best serve the total cause of theological education.

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What We Look For in the New Testament

ROBERT M. GRANT*

IN some respects the nineteenth century was the most exciting period in the history of the study of the Bible. It was then that a succession of brilliant and industrious scholars, chiefly in Germany, undertook to show just how human the Bible was. They looked at statements which had previously been treated as items of historical fact and proceeded to prove that the biblical writers were not usually historians and that what they wrote was not usually history; they looked at various moral ideas, especially in the Old Testament, and showed that these ideas were not in harmony with the Sermon on the Mount or, for that matter, with the views of the Enlightenment or of the nineteenth century itself. In other words, the Bible was not an infallible guide either in matters of faith, where faith was related to history, or in matters of morals. The negative effect of this kind of criticism was so great that its positive results are often overlooked. On the positive side, the nineteenth-century critics were ultimately separating the Bible itself from the use which had been made of the Bible in the two centuries before their time. In that earlier period people had often taken the Bible very literally and had insisted on the absolute reliability of its historical narratives; they had treated it as a monolithic block and had assumed that God spoke as directly to modern men in Judges as in Job, in the imprecatory Psalms as in the teaching

of Jesus. The nineteenth-century critics undermined this use of the Bible, and we still owe them a debt for their work.

The slogan which summed up the point of view of these critics in England was that one should interpret the Bible like any other book. What the slogan implied was that one knew perfectly well how to interpret any other book, and also that there was one uniform method with which one approached all books alike. But just these implications have come into question in more recent times. Today many students of the Bible continue to operate as if the nineteenth-century foundations of their methods were unquestioned and, indeed, unquestionable; but the validity of these methods is actually a matter of debate. A method which treats the Bible like any other book ultimately can make no distinctions between one book and another. If the Bible is a collection of statements which teach bad history and bad morals, we might just as well stop reading it, unless we can somehow show that it is basically concerned with something else. And, fortunately, it is this "something else," this element of uniqueness and creativity, to which more modern literary criticism is tending to direct us.

At this point we may refrain from dealing directly with the relation of literary criticism to the Bible, since we should say something about an aspect of uniqueness which in modern times has often been neglected. There is a very considerable element of ambiguity in the Bible, in the New Testament as well as in the Old. In part this ambiguity is related to rather mundane questions such as authorship and canonicity. For example, it is highly doubtful that the letter called II Peter, which claims to have been written by the apostle Peter, was actually written by him, or, indeed, by anyone who personally

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knew him. In part the ambiguity is reflected in the New Testament itself. The author of II Peter undoubtedly thought that he understood the Pauline epistles. But he was willing to say (3:16) that in them "are some matters hard to understand, which the ignorant and unstable twist, like the other scriptures, to their own destruction." The ignorant and the unstable could not have done their work of twisting had there not been something to twist.

What was there that such people could use? There were passages whose meaning is not fully conveyed on the surface of what is said, passages such as those in which the apostle Paul was trying to set forth the meaning of his own experience and of the apostolic tradition as related to his experience. Paul had heard from tradition about what "the Lord Jesus did on the night in which he was betrayed." There was a real historical event about whose historicity Paul had no doubt. There was a last supper, arrest, trial, crucifixion. Without these unique events there would, of course, have been no passion narrative. But without an intuitive awareness of the creative power of the passion there would have been no gospel accounts of it. It might as well not have taken place. In other words, we can try to fix the crucifixion in time and space, to relate it to apocalyptic hopes and to Palestinian politics; we can even speculate endlessly about its legality or illegality. But ultimately its meaning cannot be exhausted by such historical investigations. They do show us that it was peculiarly conditioned by time and space or, in short, that it was a historical event. But there was something about this event which was not confined to the moment in April of the year 30 or to the place outside Jerusalem called Golgotha. The event carried a power within it which made possible its re-creation, whether in Paul's words, "I have been crucified with Christ," or in the Lord's Supper or in one of Bach's Passions.

The greatest of the biblical writers are

those who, in the power of the crucifixion event or of other events related to it, attain to creative intuitions of the meanings of the event and try to set forth its meaning or meanings. The apostle Paul, for example, is constantly trying to express its meanings and in various letters approaches his theme from various angles. In one he will speak of Paschal sacrifice; in another, of propitiation or expiation; in another, of reconciliation, whether human or cosmic. All these approaches reflect Paul's work either as theologian or (more obviously) as creative artist. Of him we may say what Joyce Cary says of any creative writer: His work has not come to an end when he has had an intuition or has become aware that a germ of insight is present. He has to take his intuition—which is ultimately an intuition of symbols of some kind—and try to fix it and convey it to others by art. He has to go from inspiration to conceptual expression; and this is what Paul does.

Now we are not apostles. Nor are most of us creative writers. We are interpreters. This is to say that our task is, in a sense, one of reversing the work of artistic or theological creation. The interpreter takes a document such as a Pauline epistle and tries to look through or behind its conceptual apparatus in order to apprehend the symbolic inspiration which moved the apostle to create. Such interpreting is difficult. The interpreter is likely to treat his subject as a mirror; he is in danger of seeing nothing but himself rather than the creative intuition which underlies the work he studies. Such a result is especially likely if he is excessively influenced by what is sometimes called an existential concern. He may insist on the subjective posture to such an extent that he forgets he is dealing with real phenomena, such as the Pauline epistles, and concentrates solely upon himself and his apprehension of the underlying symbols, as he imagines them to be.

It is at this point that literary and histori-

cal criticism have their usefulness. If the interpreter will devote some effort to analyzing literary structure and historical setting, he will be reminded that the author did write his book in a particular form at a particular place in a particular time and, indeed, for a particular purpose. Everywhere in Christian life and thought we encounter the "scandal of particularity." Uniqueness is of the essence of the biblical books.

At the same time, if we are to try to achieve an apprehension of the "ultimate concern" of any biblical writer, literary and historical work cannot remain an end in itself. The Old and New Testaments were preserved because their contents are more than literary and historical. Through the literary and the historical the reader or hearer can come to the symbols of revelation. These symbols are often (or always) expressed ambiguously, just as the human life of Jesus presented itself ambiguously to men, even to those who found in him their Christ. Literary and historical criticism can clear away some aspects of the ambiguity. Criticism can keep us from revering awkwardness of style as if it directly expressed divine truth; it can keep us from regarding as direct revelation something which is merely ancient commonplace. But its work never brings us directly to the meaning of the insights of such a man as Paul.

Whether Paul was a mystic or not, it is evident that he was a man, or "knew a man in Christ," who heard ineffable words in paradise, who spoke to the Lord in vision and was told, "My grace is sufficient for thee," and who was one "in whom God revealed his Son." He was a man of the Spirit of Christ; and the working of the Spirit of Christ is not the kind of activity which we can pin point. Paul was dealing with transcendent mysteries which he could not fully express. And when we look at his epistles we have to remember that even though we may be able to trace the origins of some of his verbal expressions, the mystery which

lies behind them is not easily available to us. In all his letters there are some matters hard to understand, and these matters lie at the center of his gospel. It is clear enough, for example, that Paul believed in the resurrection of Christ. If Christ was not really raised from the dead, then his own preaching was pointless, his hearers' faith was pointless, and they were still in their sins. There was something inherent in the once-for-all resurrection of Christ—not a repeatable "Easter-event"—which gave power for faith and for the forgiveness of sins. But Paul does not try to tell us what the resurrection actually was. He does not describe it in some way that will "make sense," as we say, either to himself or to his hearers. Perhaps he does make such an attempt when he speaks about psychical bodies and spiritual bodies. All one can say here is that the attempt was not successful. The conception of a spiritual body is religiously unnecessary and philosophically meaningless, unless we take it too exactly and place it in an Aristotelian framework where Paul would be talking about a body composed of some quintessence. Since Paul was hardly an Aristotelian, we must assume that his final word is found in the phrase, "Behold, I tell you a mystery." The resurrection cannot ultimately be defined or analyzed, and neither biblical critics nor preachers can avoid pointing toward the ultimate mystery.

Most of the basic motifs of the New Testament escape precise treatment, and the history of criticism, like the history of theology, is strewn with the wreckage of exact systems. Is there, then, any room for exact treatment of the New Testament? Yes, there is—although the room is somewhat smaller than critics have often imagined. The work of criticism is an absolutely necessary preliminary to the work of interpretation. Interpretation does not consist of projecting oneself on the screen of the New Testament. It consists of an encounter between interpreters and something outside themselves—the

New Testament which is the medium of revelation. As a medium, the New Testament is not altogether perfect. It is time-bound and space-bound, not only in the sense that it testifies to a revelation of that very nature but also in the sense that it reflects the limitations of those who transmitted its materials and who wrote them down. For instance, Mark lets the literal-minded sons of Zebedee ask Jesus for seats on his right and left when the kingdom comes. Matthew cannot understand their human fallibility. He replaces their request with the same request put in their mother's mouth—just as in Eden Adam hastily put the blame for the fall on Eve. By comparing the two texts we see that by trying to improve the character of two apostles, Matthew has actually done two things. First, he has made a given situation historically confusing. The mother makes the request of Jesus, but Jesus replies to the sons of Zebedee. (Perhaps Matthew corrected the story too hastily.) And second, the evangelist makes the situation unreal through half-trying to give us stained-glass window saints in place of the real-life "sons of thunder" who were witnesses and followers of Jesus. By comparing the accounts, we come closer to the theological meaning of the gospel. Jesus came to call not the righteous but sinners.

If we are willing to look closely and critically at the New Testament we shall discover countless passages in which only this critical approach will point toward a true insight into the meaning of what is being discussed. At the same time, we must beware of believing that when we do so we have exhausted all the potential revelatory meanings to be found. Over-precise definition is fatal. The second-century Gnostics knew exactly what the biblical symbols meant. But like all systematizers they correlated the symbols with a vast corpus of transient world-views. Claiming to be free, they left no room for the freedom of the symbols. For the purpose of interpretation is not to create systems or to

correlate faith with science, even with historical "science"; it is, or should be, ultimately to free the symbols from both systems and science and to let such symbols manifest their primitive power.

In the Gnostic sense we have mentioned, all allegorical interpretation runs the risk of radically distorting the symbols. To quote Joyce Cary again (*Art and Reality*, p. 163): "Allegory is false because it lays down categorical imperatives for conduct in a world of particular and unique events. It treats the world as a mechanism whereas it is a world of free souls. And it is in this world of persons that the novelist must develop his meanings." Cary is speaking of the literary artist. To follow his thought in relation to interpreters of creative works, all we need to do is to recognize that the New Testament works are not allegories. Consequently, we cannot interpret them allegorically. They deal with particular and unique events, with free souls, with a world of persons. These persons do live and move in relation to the symbols of faith; but the symbols are expressed in free creativity, not in some kind of conceptual system behind the events. (This idea can be extended. Not only is a semi-Platonic system such as that of Origen mistaken when it is related to static ideas supposedly underlying the Bible; any static system is so mistaken, no matter how high the credit rating of its theological founder.) For the biblical stories point to symbols not of ideas or of any kind of abstraction; they point to symbols of the God who both eternally is and also eternally acts.

Thus we see that in interpreting the Bible, literary and historical criticism has a great but preliminary value; we see that in our interpretation we are searching for symbols of the work of God himself, even though we must avoid systematizing them. Should we then try to by-pass the Bible altogether and refuse to become involved in a search where we are virtually assured that we cannot reach a final goal? Such a conclusion might

be commendable if we possessed some other means of approaching the life-giving symbols which speak of God's work in creating and saving mankind. We do not have any other means. To be sure, God has not left himself without witness in other media of revelation, but to identify or apprehend these other media and their messages is extremely difficult without the benefit of the biblical proclamation. Indeed, one might go so far as to compare the content of the other media with code messages, only partly legible without the benefit of the key provided in God's code book. (This comparison makes the Bible seem a little clearer than it is.) By striving we cannot find out God—even by striving in the depths of our own existential situation.

Of course, the New Testament interpreter must to some degree be an existentialist. But he must be an existentialist with a memory. He looks not alone within himself and around himself and toward the future; he also looks back. And as an intelligent human being, he looks back critically. Not every tale that is told is true; not every tale has a symbolic meaning. To some extent historical criticism helps him make distinctions. Again, there is a degree of distance between the New Testament writers and ourselves. Many of their presuppositions were different from ours (they may not even have known what "the biblical view of history" was!) and there is no reason to suppose that we can, or should, recapture their framework. They interpreted the meaning of their encounter with Christ and his Spirit in relation to the cosmologies, eschatologies, even the theologies of their day. But beyond all such frames of reference lie the mysteries of the encounter, of the reign of God, and of Jesus' relationship with the Father. These mysteries ultimately escape definition, even in theological terms.

There are some who suppose that the tradition of the post-apostolic church can supply us with precise definitions. For several reasons, this expectation cannot be fulfilled. In the first place, the tradition is much less

uniform than one might expect. Secondly, the decisions of such a council as Chalcedon are valuable chiefly as a restatement of the theological problem, not as a solution to it. Thirdly, just as the New Testament writings themselves are historically conditioned, so also the interpretations given by the Fathers, like those of later scholars, are in large measure determined by their relation to the various thought-worlds in which they were produced. This is why it is not enough to say that such-and-such a Father interpreted such-and-such a passage in a certain way; we have to know the method of exegesis he used and the reasons for which he used it.

Historical and literary criticism, and the study of patristic interpretation, are indispensable preliminaries to our encounter with the New Testament and with the symbolic apprehensions which brought it into existence. The ultimate goal, however, is the encounter. Critical study helps us to avoid undue emphasis upon those elements in the New Testament which are most specifically directed to the particular world of the first century. To be sure, we cannot simply proceed from critical study to the deletion of these elements. After all, the revelation was given precisely in these "earthen vessels." We have to look through or in the earthen vessels to see "in a mirror indistinctly."

Again, the message of the New Testament is contained in a book. We have to look at the book and its binding; we have to look at the leaves of the book, the kind or kinds of writing found in it, the errors made by various scribes. Finally, however, the only reason for looking at the book is to find out what its author or authors have tried to communicate. The New Testament is different from other books, in degree if not in kind, because it testifies to the revelation made by God himself through Jesus Christ. This revelation was given in history, but its meaning transcends history. Therefore, while it may be approached through historical study, its final symbolical meaning cannot be fully apprehended in this way.

Interpreting the Resurrection

ERIC C. RUST*

THE Resurrection of Jesus Christ constitutes the turning point of biblical history and revelation. In the mind of the biblical writers, it transformed the seeming defeat of the crucifixion into triumphant victory and confirmed the declaration of our Lord Himself that, in his person, the sovereign rule of God had entered decisively into human history. The resurrection meant that God had exalted Jesus to be Prince and Savior and that every tongue should confess that he is Lord to the glory of God the Father. As Barth has finely expressed it: "The resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ are the completed revelation of Jesus Christ which corresponds to His completed 'work'" (*Church Dogmatics*, IV, 2, p. 141). Without the Resurrection, as testified to by the disciples to whom the Risen Lord appeared in his risen glory, there would be no triumphant faith in him as Savior and Lord. If the work of the cross was to be complete and effective for all men everywhere at all times, it could be so only as the seal was set to it when God raised Jesus Christ from the dead. In the Resurrection the meaning of our Lord's mission was unveiled and the redemptive revelation in him was completed.

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The Background to the Resurrection in Biblical Thought

In approaching an understanding of the significance of the Resurrection, it is well that we should understand this in terms of certain patterns of Biblical thought. Only so can we truly do justice to the faith of the New Testament Church and grasp the eschatological import of the Resurrection as the focal point for, not only the inner transformation of human history, but also the redemption of the cosmos. It is therefore imperative that we note two significant aspects of the Biblical thought patterns—Biblical anthropology and the relation between sin and death.

In Biblical thought man is regarded as a psycho-somatic whole rather than as an embodied soul. Greek ideas of the body as the prison house of the soul are alien to the Hebrew way of thinking. For one thing, "soul" means "mind" or "reason" for the Greek and this alone is by its nature immortal; whereas, in the Biblical understanding, the fundamental usage of "soul" is to describe a personal whole, conceived realistically in bodily form. Even when the "soul" has more the connotation of inner life than outer form, this unity of man's corporate nature is never broken. This is why the Hebrews thought of survival in terms of resurrection of the body rather than of the immortality of the soul in a purely spiritualistic sense. To be a full person, the whole man must survive death. Furthermore, the implication of the very term "resurrection" is that this survival is not something man possesses implicitly in himself but is something conferred upon him from beyond himself. It is the act of God.

The second significant pattern in Biblical thought enters in at precisely this point. In

the Old and the New Testaments sin and death are closely bound together. All corruption and decay are regarded as in opposition to God. Death is not regarded as a natural thing or a liberation from prison, as with the Greeks; it is unnatural and contrary to the divine intention. It represents a process that intrudes into the creation because of sin. In the Garden of the myth, man can continually renew his life at the tree of life, but sin comes to bar him from the Garden, deprive him of contact with the divinely given source of renewal, and make him subject to death. This explains the fear of death that pervades the Old Testament period. Men lived under the shadow of death, and death meant separation from God, as the Psalms make abundantly clear. Only as sin is dealt with, can death be vanquished. As O. Cullmann puts it: "In this Biblical view, death and continued life after death do not constitute a continuous organic natural process; rather, mighty powers stand in conflict. When in the Bible life comes out of death, a miracle is necessary" (*Christ and Time*, p. 234). We can say that from the Biblical standpoint, when man is truly related to God, death can have no place. Death is only natural and inevitable for man as we know him, man the sinner. If Christ is man as man ought to be, and if, as we shall argue, his resurrection body is indicative of man's existence as God intended it, we can affirm that he tasted death *for us* and that the transfigured body was natural to him; we might suggest that his transfiguration prior to the crucifixion is an indication that death by rights had no hold over him. His body was a perfect instrument, whereas ours is defiled by sin and subjected to death. Because of sin, the abrupt separation and judgment of death has taken the place of a process of transfiguration of the physical elements. Everywhere death and sin are concomitants in our world, and because death has come, disease, corruption, and decay have beset our humanity. Our Lord's heal-

ing miracles are reminders that, for him, the triumph over disease and death, the staying, if only temporarily, of the process of corruption and decay, was bound up with the forgiveness and removal of sin. Healing was in some sense a partial resurrection. For Paul, death was the last enemy to be conquered. It had indeed already been decisively vanquished in the Empty Tomb, but its power over humanity had to be consummately dealt with when God's "now" of decision for men was finished.

The Historicity and Mode of the Resurrection

Was the Resurrection the creation of faith or the creator of faith? This question has become central in the contemporary debate on demythologization, although it has been a live issue since the liberalizing movement of the last century. Today the problem would be differently expressed by Bultmann, who, in this post-Barthian epoch, recognizes Jesus Christ as a divine act, even though Bultmann has divested that event of what he is pleased to regard as its mythical dress. Across the past fifty years, a critical approach to Scripture has at least made us aware of the issues involved in the evidence for the Resurrection provided by the New Testament documents. Sometimes we have tended to over-emphasize minor divergences between the different streams of tradition, and often we have bowed the knee to what we have mistakenly believed to be the decisive scientific world view. The latter is particularly evidenced in the case of Bultmann, who fundamentally accepts a view of science and scientific law which would be subscribed to by few contemporary scientists. It can be safely said, and I say it as an atomic physicist, that the positivistic outlook of modern science, with its concern for description and prediction rather than explanation, gives us no ground for denying the possibility of miracle unless we link to it a deistic metaphysics. The latter has no more justification

in science itself than theistic or pantheistic presuppositions.

The New Testament evidence indicates that the apostolic testimony clearly regarded the Resurrection as a historical event and, accordingly, differentiated certain elements within it. The earliest testimony we have comes from the Pauline corpus in 1 Corinthians 15. This material appears to be prior to Paul himself and to possess a creedal form. In 1 Corinthians 15:4 it is quite clear that the Apostle and the confession of faith which he used regarded the Resurrection of our Lord as a historical event, a particular moment in *Heilsgeschichte*. Hence we have the affirmation that Christ "was buried" and that he was raised "on the third day." In so far as the apostolic preaching represents the primitive Christian *kerygma*, it is evident that from the beginning the Church affirmed the Resurrection as a fundamental element in its faith. The very term "apostle" carried with it the stipulation that these "called men" were "eye-witnesses" to the Resurrection. Although they were not the sole "eye-witnesses," for the Gospels refer to certain women and Paul declares that the Risen Lord appeared to upwards of five hundred at once (1 Corinthians 15:6), yet the apostolate was limited historically to those who had seen the Risen One, with the added condition that upon them was laid the commission to bear their witness to what they had seen (Matthew 28:19). Already we discern the two elements emerging which become quite clear in the Gospel evidence—the fact of the Empty Tomb and the visible appearances of the Risen Lord. To these two elements in the Resurrection faith, each Gospel tradition bears witness in its own distinctive way. It is possible to argue that the very divergences in the accounts support rather than discredit the testimony, since, as many have pointed out, these discrepancies reflect the vagaries and failings of human testimony and memory. Thus they may even help to

prove that we have in these traditions no ordinary or engineered story.

What we may call the public element in the Resurrection faith is constituted by the fact of the Empty Tomb. Mark and John alike affirm that the women found the tomb empty, with John limiting the experience to Mary Magdalene alone and preserving a separate tradition. Kirsopp Lake and others believe that this element was a late addition to the Resurrection faith. It is true that the Gospel traditions were not put into final form until quite late. Yet Paul's silence about the Empty Tomb in 1 Corinthians 15 must not be understood negatively, for he states that he has already convinced his readers and is now only reminding them of this (cf. K. Lake, *Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, p. 194). Furthermore, we have already noted the way in which Paul's confession sets "was raised" over against "was buried" in 1 Corinthians 15:4. It is significant that even the polemic of the Jews was not able to dispute the emptiness of the tomb, but rather had to attribute this to the disciples' theft of the body (cf. Matthew 28:13-15). Klausner, the Jewish scholar, finds such an accusation incredible, and can write that "the nineteen hundred years' faith is not founded on deception" (*Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 359).

If we allow for the reality of the Empty Tomb as a historical fact, we have to consider also the private element in the Resurrection faith—the appearance of the Risen Lord to the disciples. It is noteworthy that our canonical traditions record appearances only to believers, whereas the later and apocryphal Gospels endeavor to support their case by recording appearances to non-believers also. Thus the Gospel to the Hebrews makes Jesus appear to the servants of the High Priest, and the Gospel of Peter tells how the Risen Lord appears to both the Roman soldiers at the tomb and to representatives of the Jewish Sanhedrin. Evidently the Church soon desired some kind of public

demonstration in which non-believers were included, whereas the earliest records from Paul through the Gospels indicate that the Risen Lord showed himself only to believers, and thus that the evidence for the Resurrection was confined to the faithful. Matthew 28:2-15 may be the beginning of the attempt to introduce a more public element, although there the Roman guards do not see the Christ but are awe-struck at the mysterious happenings. We shall return later to this element of the incognito of the Resurrection in relation to the world. At this point we must note our dependence upon the testimony of believing eye-witnesses.

What was the nature of the Resurrection appearance? We must at once point out that the historical critic can never be purely objective. Indeed, historical criticism has often approached the records of the Resurrection event with certain presuppositions. It is almost axiomatic that a historical critic who is true to his scientific principles will regard all evidence with suspicion when it comes to the issue of the Resurrection, just because the event seems to be denied by the normal course of historical events. On the other hand, as O. C. Quick points out, "the Christian believer will be predisposed to accept the New Testament evidence for the resurrection. He will not demand any proof that science or the law courts would call cogent. And if he finds the evidence sufficient, he will accept it, not because like evidences would establish any other resurrection but because the uniqueness of Jesus makes it credible" (*The Doctrines of the Creed*, p. 150). In actual fact, the radical and decisive factor in the treatment of the New Testament evidence would appear to lie in the presuppositions with which it is approached. A. M. Ramsey has differentiated three such presuppositions which underlie in various ways modern criticism of the records of the Resurrection: (1) The body has no place in man's future life. (2) The human race is destined for spiritual immortality by sur-

vival of the soul after death. (3) The resurrection of Jesus is not the unique spring and source of our resurrection but an exemplary, edifying symbol of our survival, so that the movement is from us to Jesus rather than from Jesus to us, with humanity supplying the norm. We may sum these up by suggesting that they belong to a world view wholly alien to that of the Old and New Testament and are more akin to the thought of both the Greek world and contemporary religious humanism. The truth is that historical criticism as such is, at best, a tool which may be used constructively or destructively, depending upon the way in which the critic approaches his evidence. We have learned too much nowadays to claim objectivity in this area. Only as we approach the evidence sympathetically, participating in the faith and attitude of the eye-witnesses themselves, shall we understand the meaning and significance of the Resurrection event as God's Word to men. Once we approach the testimony with presuppositions that are alien to the biblical faith or that are supported by happenings in the natural order, we have already shut our ears to that Word.

Ramsey points out that the decisive issue is how we really understand the nature of the Christian faith and Gospel. If we adopt an evolutionary and developmental approach, we shall be content to discredit the evidence for the Empty Tomb and to postulate some form of spiritual resurrection, construing the Resurrection of Jesus as merely an example of how the righteous may survive death. If, on the other hand, we believe that the evidence for the Empty Tomb must be accepted and that the Resurrection was a divine and creative intervention in this order of sin and death which inaugurated a new humanity, then bodily resurrection will not be incredible and the Empty Tomb will not appear crude and unnecessary (cf. A. M. Ramsey, *The Resurrection of Jesus*, pp. 55 f).

Already I am presupposing some later affirmations of this paper, but before we pro-

ceed to these, let us note that while the evidence of the Gospels patently indicates a bodily resurrection, this is also implied in the testimony of Paul. 1 Corinthians 15 indicates that Paul believed in a bodily resurrection of which the Resurrection of our Lord was the prototype as well as the creative center. The acceptance of such evidence and the refusal to dismiss it in terms of some purely pneumatic survival or to explain it in the light of evidence supplied by psychological research leave us with two possibilities. The first is that our Lord was raised in his physical body. At first sight, this might seem to be supported by the traditions preserved in Luke and Acts. We may note, too, that Luke surmounts the problem of disposing of such a physical body by translating it to heaven in what appears to be a literal acceptance of the three tier universe. Yet even Luke preserves the tradition of the journey to Emmaus in which the Risen Lord disappears from sight as soon as he is recognized by the disciples.

The truth in this viewpoint is that there had to be physical recognition of the Lord and continuity of the risen appearance with the historical Jesus, before there could be a cognition of his true significance and the meaning of his mission. Richard R. Niebuhr has made this point effectively in a book which has many brilliant insights. With respect to the views of mere spiritual resurrection or physical appearance, which we have already dismissed as unsatisfactory, Niebuhr writes cogently that "if the resurrection appearance of Jesus means anything at all in the historical context in which we are approaching it, it is an event that has a specific nature, in part defined by the individuality of Jesus of Nazareth. It cannot be understood simply as a manifestation of a general law of psychical behavior, as the illusionist school of thought would have it" (*The Resurrection and Historical Reason*, p. 164). Niebuhr points out that there is an emphasis in the traditions on the signs by which Jesus' identity is disclosed and that these signs

were bound up with the historical life of Jesus as it was preserved in the living memory of the disciples. Thus there is an element of flesh involved, and Niebuhr rightly asserts that what is stressed is not so much the corporeal appearance of Jesus as recognition of him (Matthew 28:16ff; Luke 24:30ff; John 20:20ff; 21:12ff). At this point, theologians cannot abandon the realm of ordinary history, and the historical signs remind us that the revelation still takes place through the medium of history. ". . . In so far as historical signs effect the dramatic moment of recognition (and recognition is an indispensable element in all cognition), no meaning can be attached to the event if that to which the witnesses respond is not the historically recognizable Jesus" (*op. cit.*, p. 174).

The second view preserves this important element but, at the same time, recognizes the unusual elements of the appearances recorded in the traditions. This view is that our Lord was mysteriously and miraculously raised in a transfigured and transformed body. Paul quite clearly believes this and speaks of the resurrection body as a pneumatic body or a body of glory. Stauffer suggests "a spiritual body, which is as different from a purely physical body as it is from a purely pneumatic existence" (*New Testament Theology*, p. 130). This body was continuous in some mysterious way with the physical body that was buried. The New Testament testimony emphasizes here the identity of the one who suffered with the one who was raised. Here, let it be noted, we have so little knowledge, scientifically speaking, of the true nature of physical energy, that we may not dogmatically affirm such continuity and transformation to be impossible. In any case, as I shall argue, such eventualities may not even be subsumed under normal scientific phenomena. It is a miracle, a divine "breaking in." The apostles did not seek to psychologize about it or explain it. They simply proclaimed it. On such

grounds, we have already dismissed the views based on psychical research. The Resurrection occurs within the natural order but is not of that order at the normal level of behavior. To anticipate later discussion once again, we may agree with Alan Richardson that "scientific explanations cannot be given for events in the eschatological order" (*New Testament Theology*, p. 197). Jesus' bodily form was not an impediment to spirit but was suited to the conditions of higher and risen life. It could take on its pre-resurrection physical appearance, but it could also transcend our conditions of space and time, pass through closed doors, and be transported from Jerusalem to Galilee in brevity of time. Kirsopp Lake admits that Paul believed "that at the resurrection the body of Jesus was changed from one of flesh and blood into one that was spiritual, incorruptible and immortal, in such a way that there was no trace left of the corruptible body that had been laid in the grave" (*Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, p. 23). Even the New Testament witness in the Lucan tradition clearly regards a purely spiritual and disembodied appearance as repugnant (Luke 24:37). Further, we face the mysterious contradictions in the Johannine tradition that although one witness is told not to touch the Risen Lord (John 20:17), another is commanded to put his hand in the wounded side (John 20:27). We may agree with Karl Heim that "God who has such abundant possibilities of materialization is not only capable of producing the kind of material existence, the substance of which is now being examined by nuclear physics. God's abundant power can also be materialized in a completely new form for which we have no analogy in the present world and which is therefore not available for scientific analyses. God can create a material existence which is no longer subject to the mortal law of mutual displacement, that is to say a substance which is tangible and is yet capable of passing through a locked door" (*Jesus the*

World Perfecter, p. 172f). As Heim puts it, the Risen Jesus can move from our dimension into another, so that our spatial and temporal limitations no longer hold for the new corporeal form of his humanity. In this sense, we must still hold to a historical, bodily and even a physical resurrection, without being crudely material. By so doing we shall be nearer the truth, for such a view will conserve the unfathomable deeps in the mystery of the Resurrection as God's act in history. To this we must now turn our attention.

The Resurrection as God's Redemptive Act in History

Having established the Resurrection as historical event and yet having noted the depth of mystery in its mode, as evidenced by the traditions, we must now elaborate the significance of this mystery. The early Church clearly regarded the Resurrection as God's act, a miraculous "breaking in" from beyond in which the normal procedure of nature was contravened. Of Christ's bodily appearance, Alan Richardson remarks: "No attempt is made by the New Testament writers to explain these things. If they could be explained by us, the mystery and miracle of the resurrection would be quite other than it is, and the Christian faith would be a different thing from what it has been throughout its history. Christianity is a religion of miracle, and the miracle of Christ's resurrection is the living center and object of the Christian faith . . ." (*New Testament Theology*, p. 197). Hence the earliest apostolic preaching can declare that God raised up Jesus (Acts 2:24, 32). Paul reiterates the same faith again and again (e.g. Romans 6:4; 1 Corinthians 15:15). Peter can speak of having confidence in the God who raised Jesus from the dead (1 Peter 1:21), and the writer to the Hebrews can invoke the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ (Hebrews 13:20).

The New Testament interprets the Resur-

rection as a new and utterly unique act, unlike any that God had performed before, one which broke the habitual patterns of God's providential activity. In so doing, it dismisses both metaphysical speculation about the natural immortality of the soul, according to which Christ would become a "supreme manifestation," and occult ideas which in every age are produced by psychic enthusiasts. This act of God was the "breaking in" of the *eschaton*, the unveiling of the final meaning of history, the event which transformed seeming defeat and humiliation into triumph and exaltation. It was the sign of the divine victory over sin, death, and every demonic power, the sign that ultimately all things would be put in subjection under God (1 Corinthians 15:26), the sign that death had already lost its dominion (Romans 6:9), the sign that Christ's atoning death had brought forgiveness to men (Romans 4:25; Philippians 3:9-11). As Alan Richardson puts it: "It is the exodus event in the salvation history of the New Israel, the mysterious and super-natural event by which God has brought his people out of the land of bondage into the realm of promise, over which his beloved Son reigns for evermore" (*New Testament Theology*, p. 197).

So much is the Resurrection understood as the redemptive act of God that it is regarded in terms of two preceding mighty acts. It can be described as the new exodus, as just mentioned, and is so regarded in the first epistle of Peter (1:18-21; 2:9). It can also be likened to a new creation (1 Peter 1:3), so that Christ is the Second Adam, the originator of a new humanity, through the Resurrection (1 Corinthians 15:45; cf. 2 Corinthians 5:17; 4:5, 6). All the powers of God, already released in the initial act of creation and redemptively present in the creating of a people in the Exodus from Egypt, have now been released in their fulness in the Empty Tomb, so that this event on the level of human history becomes also an event in the eternity of God.

The unity of the Cross and the Resurrection is essential to the *kerygma* of the New Testament. This is explicitly evident in 1 Corinthians 15, but explicitly or implicitly it is present throughout the New Testament testimony. The Gospel is a Resurrection Gospel. This, incidentally, is why both events have to be in some real sense historical events, even though the Resurrection appearances were private, and to the disciples only. Easter sets the seal on the atonement and transforms black Friday into Good Friday. So for Paul the doctrine of justification is not complete without the Resurrection, for "the work of Christ is not finished and salvation history does not reach its goal" (Stauffer, *Theology of the New Testament*, p. 137) until God raises Christ from the dead (Romans 4:22-25; 1 Corinthians 15:17). The process is quite clear: The descent and humiliation of the Servant-Son reached its lowest point on Calvary and the ascent back to the heavenly session began when God raised his Son and confessed him before men. The heavenly high-priestly intercession for sinful men, where the Christ who dealt with our sin on the Cross continues his priestly function and covers all future sin through his eternal sacrifice, follows upon the triumphant act of resurrection. There the Servant was confirmed as Savior and his foes were scattered (Acts 2:24). He was crucified in weakness but raised by the power of God (2 Corinthians 13:4). In dealing with sin, he also deals with death, and tastes death for every man.

The uniqueness of the Resurrection as the key to all history lies in the affirmation that it is the divine redemptive act whereby sin and death are defeated, the eschatological event in which the meaning of all history is made plain and in which the distortions and perversions of the created order and existence are decisively dealt with. It is not that we are dealing with some contingent and novel event in history, but with *this* Resurrection, the Resurrection of Jesus

Christ who is declared thereby to be the unique Son of God with power. Heim can write of the Resurrection appearances that the disciples "knew that in a small space for a little while they had been granted a view into the Reality which contained the destiny of the whole world to come, the future of nature and the world of men" (*Jesus the World Perfecter*, p. 171).

The Resurrection and Our Present Historical Existence

We turn now to the Resurrection as the clue to our historical existence. Paul affirms that Christ was raised for our sakes (Romans 4:25). The Resurrection of Christ affects us individually as radically as it affected his earthly corporeal existence. In it the will of God is redemptively expressed for his creation, so that the Resurrection destroys the sinfulness of our humanity and miraculously ushers us into a new and risen way of life.

In our world death has been defeated decisively in Christ, and yet the *Götterdämmerung* still seems to hold sway. Christ has triumphed over sin, but sin still appears to hold the world in thrall; and because sin has its hold over us, so also has death. The created order is a realm under the shadow of death which casts its dark and seemingly triumphant form over the universe. The Second Law of Thermodynamics is generally acknowledged by all scientists to represent a basic description of the ultimate outcome of that cosmos which science studies so diligently and which shows such magnificent rational structure. Disorder and chaos will ultimately return to a universe which was called out of them by the divine fiat. Even our own sun is growing old and in the initial stages of decay. Nothingness lies before us, a deep abyss in which all things will be swallowed up, and, along and with these things, all our human history and achievements. As Karl Heim puts it, the universe is trembling

before an "avalanche of death." Individually we men too must perish and our works moulder in the dust of the ages. What then has Christ done? If he has defeated death, where are the signs of his triumph? Inexorably mortality and corruption move on their seemingly victorious path.

Faith affirms that to stay this triumphant march one man stepped forth in the power of God, and even he at first seemed to be swallowed up like his fellows. But here the march was stopped! Death failed to hold this man in its thrall, and his Resurrection deprived mortality of its triumph. The tide was stemmed and life was enabled to move forward to its ultimate victory. The Christ could do this because he was man in a unique and all-embracing sense. He was representative man, so that his victory over sin and death was in principle the victory of all men. If, in the old humanity, death is regnant, in this new humanity, all men are made alive (1 Corinthians 15:21). The "last" man, Christ, is a life-giving spirit, for in him death has lost its sting (1 Corinthians 15:45). Paul's sense of the representative and corporating nature of our Lord's triumph has gained in significance with modern psychological insight. As we identify ourselves with Christ in the total commitment of faith, we too are raised to newness of life. To be in Christ, to be committed to him in faith, is to be incorporated in his new humanity, his body, the Church.

This truth is expressed in the various metaphors of Biblical thought. Through the Resurrection of Christ, a new solidarity has come into being. In a very real sense the believer is incorporated within the risen Christ and shares in the benefits of his risen life. The rite of baptism symbolizes the truth that through the commitment of faith, the believer has become identified with the Death and Resurrection of his Lord. Mortal death still remains, yet its stranglehold has been removed from the believer. His mortal body, his body of flesh is still with him, and

its hindering influence still conditions his new life in Christ. He must still die, but death is no longer the ultimate separation; it is no longer experienced as judgment, for to be absent from the fleshly body means to be present with the Lord. For the believer, the spiritual crisis of judgment is past. Indeed he is already sharing in this resurrection experience, for the flesh no longer prevents communion and the body of sin is only an encumbrance and not a tyrant. He can now sit in heavenly places and know fellowship with the Christ. In principle he has passed from death into life. Through Christ's intercession and in him, the believer has already been accepted by God and installed in a place of glory.

In the New Testament this continuing work of Christ's Resurrection is described as the activity of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is at work in quickening power against the "avalanche of death" and the demonries of sin. The foretaste of our ultimate resurrection is this earnest (*arrabon*) of the Spirit (Romans 8:23). It was through the Spirit that God effected the Resurrection of Christ (Romans 1:4; 1 Peter 3:18) and he is now operative in the inner life of the believer (Ephesians 3:16). Our "inward man" is being daily renewed against the avalanche of death in which our "outward man" perishes (2 Corinthians 4:16). Indeed, even our body has been taken hold of by the Spirit, though the flesh still keeps its lodgment (Romans 7:14, 25). In the Spirit the end is already partially realized. Men still have to die, and the body is still subject to corruption, but already the risen life of Christ is at work in his Spirit.

The Spirit means fellowship, whereas sin, death and flesh spell separation. In the risen life of Christ we are being built together, and what Heim calls our condition of polarity, or separation, is already in some sense being transcended. We have eternal life, even though we still wait for the end and the raising of our body (John 6:39, 40, 44, 54).

Then the Spirit, the power of life, will pervade all created things, and fleshly matter will be superseded by a spiritual substance akin to Christ's glorious body, in which full fellowship will be possible and Christ will be all in all. The distinctive mark of all this is fellowship. Christians participate in Christ and in one another. The suffering or enrichment of one is shared by all, and the failure of one hinders the growth of the whole, which is incorporated in the personality of Christ, from whom it draws its nourishment. This is the inner meaning of history, hidden though it may be in the visible life of a divided Church and of a world subject to the avalanche of death.

The triumphant ongoing of the power of God that raised Jesus Christ from the dead remains hidden in human history. The Resurrection had its private and inner aspect, as we have seen. The Risen Lord appeared only to believers, and the realm of men was left with the historical fact of an empty tomb conjoined to the testimony of the first eyewitnesses. This element of incognito remains throughout the present interim period of world history, this "now" of God, the time he gives men for decision. We are living in the end time. The "Day of the Lord," to use Old Testament terminology, has broken into history, but it is not yet objectively manifest. It comes upon men in the *kerygma* of the Church. As the Christian fellowship proclaims the redemptive mercy of God in the Cross and the Resurrection, the Holy Spirit makes that redemptive event contemporaneous with the hearers, and they too confront the Risen Lord. What was made plain in direct encounter to the first witnesses is again set before men and they are placed in the crisis of decision. Yet always such an encounter is hidden and mediated. Only to those with eyes to see does the truth become plain. A visible manifestation of the glorified Lord to all men after his Resurrection would have meant enforced acknowledgment. It would have defeated the

divine purpose of love in creating men with freedom to respond and replaced the strategy of grace by one of overwhelming power.

The Resurrection does however forbid any attempt to escape from this world order by mystical flight and absorption. It reminds us that this realm is God's creation and that in raising the body of his Son, he has not given up His creation to dissolution and corruption. This world is not evil and the body of man is no "prison house of the soul" as the Greeks thought. The Christian must not seek salvation by denying the world and taking refuge in some transcendent spiritual sphere. He must accept the world order as he must accept his own body, and believe that these have their place in God's gracious purpose. Even though the movement of the world order scientifically be towards dissolution, yet that order is God's creation, and it also has been redeemed in Christ. This means, as Heim reminds us, that we must adopt a positive attitude toward the realms of nature and history. Our destiny has to be worked out within the setting of this world and through a responsible relationship to it. We cannot evade that responsibility, for the Resurrection of the Lord binds us to the redemption of the cosmos. "If we do not transpose the power of the risen Christ into action then we live in an illusion" (K. Heim, *Jesus the World's Perfecter*, p. 180). The physical bodily Resurrection of our Lord in a glorified form is a symbolic reminder that his redemption is cosmic. Because of this the whole creation groans and travails along with us, waiting for that final redemption in which a redeemed humanity shall be central but in which the natural order also shall share. The physical is not evil, it becomes sacramental of the spiritual once faith has been awakened, and it too must be redeemed into glory.

The Resurrection and Cosmic Redemption

Finally, we must take brief note of the final consummation, as this is interpreted

through the Resurrection. History and nature are moving towards a climax in which what is now working in a hidden way will finally be disclosed. This world order cannot achieve its true meaning by any inherent process; evolution alone presents no solution. The Resurrection body of Christ carries within itself the meaning of all created existence, and just as this is the work of God, so also is the consummation of the cosmos. God will not destroy it; he will transform it. The avalanche of death, the *Götterdämmerung*, will be stayed by a divine act akin to, and as productive as, the initial fiat of creation. In Christ we know what life and bodily existence may truly become. His Spirit, working secretly in us, is preparing the way for that ultimate consummation when, in one cosmic act, all creation shall share in the glory of the sons of God. Then the world and men will be lifted above the stage of dissolution and corruption into a glorious state of unity in the Spirit, and God shall be all in all.

It is within this setting, not that of Greek idealism, that we need to understand the New Testament doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. The eschatological hope is not concerned with the survival of pure spirits or with resurrection as a process of spiritualization. Men are to be raised in spiritual and incorruptible bodies continuous with their historical existence and yet also discontinuous, bodies which will not separate but unite, making fellowship fully possible. The image of God in man will be perfectly restored in a fellowship of the Spirit realized within a glorified order. Then the Spirit that dwells in us will finally lay hold on our mortal bodies, on our involvement in this natural process, and the whole creation will emerge no longer subject to decay.

It is significant that such thinkers as Karl Heim and Oscar Cullmann are endeavoring to express this biblical realism as a live option for our day.

Jesus in History and in Faith

DONALD T. ROWLINGSON*

A SIGNIFICANT trend of thought in German biblical scholarship today is challenging us to a renewed effort to recover the real Jesus, Jesus as he actually was in ancient Palestine. It is being said that the enterprise can be successful and that it is important for faith. What makes this so interesting is that the proponents of this point of view are, generally speaking, the very scholars who a short time back discounted both the possibility and the importance of the quest of the historical Jesus. They are either pupils of Rudolf Bultmann, the leading skeptic in this area, or scholars who have been influenced by him. Even Bultmann himself is now making concessions to this new trend. It is not our purpose here to review this development. That work has been adequately done by others.¹ Our purpose is rather to address ourselves to two questions which are involved in the subject of the quest of the historical Jesus. The first asks why it is important to seek to confront the earthly Jesus in the interests of a vital faith in him today. The second, growing out of that, enquires into what it is that the scholar can contribute to the layman in this area.

Why the Earthly Jesus?

Kerygmatic theology asserts that Jesus Christ confronts us primarily, if not solely, in his resurrected glory and calls us to decision for or against him. There can be little dissent from that, so far as it goes. But a

problem arises when we are informed that the earthly Jesus contributes practically nothing to our understanding of the nature of this decision. A twofold claim is implied by this assertion. One is that the earthly Jesus is not important for faith. The other is that, even if he were, it would be useless to try to recover him from the Gospels, simply because his real visage is hidden by layers of early Christian interpretation. As we have said, dissent from this rigid position has arisen within the citadel itself, but the position is still held by some,² and hence demands attention.

The fact is that in its extreme form the idea can be supported neither by the New Testament itself nor by common sense. The Gospels deny the claim that the earthly Jesus is not important for faith. The fact that they exist is evidence enough. Even if we should grant that early Christian interpretation of Jesus has seriously distorted the original sayings and events, the fact remains that those who were responsible for the Gospels thought that they had confronted God through the earthly figure of Jesus, memories of whom they wished to preserve in their writings. This is consistent with the rest of the New Testament. No matter how speculative or how elaborate its Christology, its faith is in one who actually lived and died, and who in this form revealed God to men. The New Testament faith is an incarnational one: "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father." It is implied throughout the New Testament that the quality of the insight and the character of Jesus on earth is crucial to faith's decision.

The Gospels also deny the claim that the

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real Jesus cannot be known. Of course they are interpreted reports. They could not be anything else. However, there is a self-authenticating quality about the portraits in terms of their general features which only the blind can fail to see. There emerges from them a unique individual of mighty dimensions, a genius in religious matters, who is at the same time thoroughly immersed in ancient Judaism. Unless we are prepared to grant that the disciple is greater and more creative than the master, this figure could not have been invented. We remain in doubt about many details of Jesus' thought and activity, but we are in no doubt about the nature of his essential ideas and the quality of his life. We know enough, that is, to understand the nature of his demands upon us and the hope which he offers.

Common sense buttresses these impressions. If we are to make a decision of faith relative to Jesus (or anyone else), we have to have something concrete and specific to go on. There is no way to secure this information except to see the earthly Jesus. It is no different with him than with Abraham Lincoln, despite the obvious differences in events subsequent to their respective deaths. A decision with reference to Lincoln cannot be an enlightened one without accurate knowledge of his ideas and character. This knowledge must be as specific as a Second Inaugural Address and as the magnanimity which Lincoln displayed in real life situations. To claim a different standard for Jesus is nonsense. When, with the decision of faith in mind, we approach him in any other way than the historical one, we end up filling an *x* with our own prejudices and wishful thinking. This, at least, is the testimony of experience. Common sense also supports the claim that Jesus can be known well enough to provide us with all the concrete information which is required for an intelligent decision. In addition to the self-authenticating nature of the impressions which the Gospels

make upon us there is the fact that they were dependent upon eyewitness reports and appeared very soon after the events which they describe.

All this places the burden of proof upon the skeptics. Unreasonable extremes of thought tend to correct themselves in time. This is coming to pass at the present time, and it is to be welcomed.

The Scholar and the Layman

If we may assume as a premise that knowledge of the earthly Jesus is crucial for faith's decision, and also that we can know enough to implement this need effectively, we are still faced with an important problem. How do we go about recovering the earthly Jesus? Obviously we study the Gospels. But how? We confine our attention here to the question of the contribution the biblical specialist has to make to the layman. Research in this field on a sound historical basis has been going on ever since Reimarus initiated it in the late eighteenth century. An avalanche of literature on every conceivable detail in the total biblical spectrum has descended upon us as a result, and it still flows from the presses. What difference does this make to the layman? Or what difference can it make?

We should consider first certain things which the scholar as such cannot contribute to the layman. He cannot contribute the Gospels! They are given, along with the self-authenticating impressions which they make upon the receptive student. The scholar cannot make the Parable of the Prodigal Son, for example, either more or less moving than it is. The Parable stands in its own right with power to inspire us or to chasten us. Scholarship has nothing to do with this. Scholarship cannot create within an individual the proper balance of open-mindedness and sympathy which is prerequisite to true insight, although scholarship may exem-

plify this balance. With reference to any number of issues arising out of the interrelationships of the Gospels, scholarship cannot provide certainty. The exact nature of the sources employed and of the oral tradition, the date of the crucifixion, Jesus' thought about the Son of Man and the future judgment—these and many other specific questions do not yield a scholarly consensus. The scholars can define and illuminate the problems, but all that they can offer are probable or possible conclusions, never definitive and conclusive answers.

With reference to the decision of faith, the biblical specialist is very limited, therefore, in what he can do for the layman. In confronting the Gospel impressions, the self-authenticating general features, he and the layman stand on the same ground. The only qualification for both is that of purity of heart and receptiveness of spirit.

Once all this has been granted, however, there is still much to be said. The specialist can contribute something of great importance. While he cannot create or destroy the original impressions, he can sharpen these impressions and make them more intelligible in a variety of ways. We are assuming without comment what is obvious, that the accuracy of the text and the translation of the original languages into modern tongues are due to him. We assume too that through study of the sources of the Gospels and through comparative studies of the Synoptic Gospels and John's Gospel, insights of great value are offered to the non-specialist. By such means, combined with others, reasonable judgments can be passed upon the question of the authenticity of both sayings and reports of events. We also take for granted that word study can lighten up many an obscure saying of Jesus. We assume all these things here, not because the specific issues involved are insignificant but because, apart from considerations of space, our interest lies elsewhere. Our particular interest falls

primarily in the area of background studies or of information about Jesus' own position within ancient Judaism.

Jesus and Ancient Judaism

Knowledge of Jesus' ancient setting comes from archaeology, geography, studies of Jewish and Hellenistic literature, and much else. All that is attempted here is sufficient exemplification to suggest the importance of the specialist's knowledge for the life of the layman.

Consider again the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Its extravagant portrayal of God's mercy speaks directly to the human heart, but it takes on added significance when we place it realistically against its background. We learn that the priests and scribes supported a legalistic interpretation of Scripture. Goodness was judged by the strictness with which one obeyed the oral interpretations of the written Torah or Law. Many people were careless about these matters, the result being that they were looked down upon as "sinners" even though at heart they might be genuinely pious and highly moral in behaviour. There was another class of persons which had become the hated symbol of Roman occupation, the publicans or subordinate tax officials. The Pharisee in the temple typified the scorn and condescension with which some reacted to such persons. The older brother in the Parable of the Prodigal Son represented the attitude of those who despised the "publicans and sinners." Knowing all this, we can see that the Parable is not simply a story told in a vacuum. It is a polemical instrument by means of which Jesus makes an aggressive attack upon an extremely narrow attitude. As such, the Parable draws to itself many of Jesus' more obviously polemical utterances as well as sayings (taxes to Caesar) and actions (the call of Levi) relative to tax officials. The Parable of the Good Samaritan is greatly illuminated for us when we are ap-

praised of the intense prejudice which the orthodox Jewish official felt toward Samaritans.

In this context Jesus' quotation of Scripture in answer to the scribe's question as to which commandment was the greatest is instructive. Only against the background of legalism can we understand how truly radical Jesus' answer was. Legalism's premise was that God had already revealed his will in a Book, and that the interpretations of that Book through a multiplicity of regulations were to be obeyed in detail. This included ritual as well as moral regulations. But Jesus placed himself squarely against legalism by asserting that there were only two commandments which mattered, the two he quoted. Furthermore, he redefined "neighbor," expanding it far beyond the normative definition of "fellow Israelite." In addition, he put the emphasis upon good will within the heart rather than upon conformity to externally enforced rules. Only against the backdrop of Judaism can we perceive exactly what Jesus meant and why he emphasized what he did. He stressed inner motive because that was what was most needed. He did not thereby discount law as such.

With regard to ideas about the future judgment many things in Jesus' sayings are clarified when we understand currents of thought in Judaism. In many sayings we are impressed with Jesus' certainty that God is actively at work in the present, especially through his teachings and acts. When, however, we understand the doctrine of God's transcendence which was held in such exaggerated form by many Jewish scribes and priests, the force of this emphasis is truly felt. Knowing how that doctrine operated in apocalyptic thought, and also the fantastic lengths to which speculation about the future judgment went in apocalypticism, we appreciate even more Jesus' more prophetic stance. Knowing the nationalistic feelings of many Jews, heightened by the pres-

ence of the Roman in the land, we sense more vividly the radical nature of Jesus' universalism. The problems are complex in this area of thought, but background information allows us to interpret Jesus more rationally than if we try to make him an extreme apocalypticist. We sense him sharing the teleological premise of all Hebrew thought, that God works in history toward a goal (the eschatological view versus the Greek circular view). But, even though he goes beyond the prophets in certain ways, we see him standing with these classical figures against the fanaticisms of national jingoism and transcendental apocalypticism.

Following out in detail the implications of such study as has been sketched, we are able to picture Jesus realistically against his background. We see him with his feet planted firmly in ancient Judaism, but at the same time, because of his creative genius, possessed of a time-transcending uniqueness. We understand the latter better because we know the former. No one can tell another just what Jesus will mean to him. There is a sense in which Jesus comes "as one unknown," and only the individual can know what his challenge is and what it means to face it and respond to it. However, to see Jesus vividly in his own setting is to give reality to his insistent and timeless demand: What will you *do* with me? To the extent that the scholar is able to make even more vivid the nature of that challenge, his contribution is indispensable.

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The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Teaching of the Old Testament to Undergraduates

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TWO preliminary observations ought to be made. In the first place, the Qumran materials will be of far more immediate relevance in the field of Old Testament studies generally than to the undergraduate teaching of Old Testament. That is to say, their special contribution will be to Hebrew studies (paleography, orthography, and morphology) and to textual studies (history of the text, pre-Masoretic recensions, elimination of textual errors, etc.). The hope is, of course, that whatever gains are made will "filter down" to us and become a part of our total resources, but that will take time.

Secondly, the question foremost in many minds is: What will the Scrolls contribute to Old Testament theology? How will they enhance or alter our understanding of Old Testament religious perspectives and teachings? It should be said at the outset that insofar as this question relates to the canonical books only, the Scrolls make little or no contribution here.

The Dead Sea Scrolls are relevant to the teaching of Old Testament History and Literature at three distinct points: Old Testament canon, literary-historical criticism, and introductory textual studies. No attempt is made here to present a thorough and systematic analysis; we want instead to indicate with the aid of a limited number of examples the kind of contribution that may be expected in each of these areas.

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I

The Scrolls are relevant to the canon. Sacred books occupied a primary place in the thought and life of the Qumran community. To this the numerous manuscripts testify, as does the presence of the scriptorium in the community center. In fact, the community understood its very existence to be the fulfillment of the words in Is. 40, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord." They interpreted these words to mean: Retire to the wilderness and carefully study the Law and the Prophets.¹ Thus they created an extensive library. Out of the Qumran caves have come fragments of every book in the Old Testament save Esther. But the community's library was certainly not confined to the books we term biblical. Books of the Apocrypha also have been found, and previously known Pseudepigrapha, along with other works heretofore unknown in modern times.²

Can we assume that all of these books were considered canonical? As Kurt Schubert says, "A community which was preparing for the immediately imminent last days did not concern itself with any 'Profane' literature."³ Even so, it is illicit to assume that all of the books were viewed with equal sanctity and authority. The number of copies of each book found may indicate which books were favored,⁴ but, in fact, most of the works appear in multiple copies, the exception being the "commentaries," which apparently were seldom copied.⁵

We could wish for some other evidence indicating that evaluative distinctions were made at Qumran and that certain books were elevated to a special rank in the consciousness of the community. Fortunately, such

evidence is present in the Scrolls. An analysis of scribal procedures, begun by Barthélemy⁶ and continued by Cross,⁷ shows that for the most part the biblical books have what they call "canonical dress." The height of their columns is twice the width, they are written on leather, and they are in Paleo-Hebrew or Aramaic square script (the Jewish "bookhand"). Thus the format, materials, and script indicate something of the books' status. To be sure, at times non-biblical works also appear in this "dress," but not with such regularity.

Unfortunately, here as elsewhere, there are exceptions. Cave VI yielded a papyrus fragment of Kings, and Cave IV some biblical scrolls in cursive script, one a fragment of Exodus. Surely, though, Kings and Exodus were well established at Qumran. Other caves have produced biblical manuscripts whose column size deviates from the pattern, although interestingly enough, most of these are from Canticles and Ecclesiastes, whose status at that time was not above suspicion.⁸

The major departure from the pattern occurs in the Daniel fragments. The three from Cave I and two of the three from Cave IV do not follow the standard format. One from Cave VI is on papyrus. In its lack of conformity, therefore, Daniel is conspicuous among the biblical books.⁹

Certainly no definite conclusion can be drawn from all this, yet on the whole Barthélemy's analysis involves certain valid implications. The Qumran discoveries provide a first-hand glimpse of a particular Jewish community before the decision at Jamnia, where the "canon" is still in the developmental stage and flexibility is still apparent, at least with regard to the *Kethubhim*. Not only do certain books, particularly Jubilees, seem to be bidding still for a place of real authority, but the evidence suggests that all eleven Writings had not yet won a place in the "canonical fold." At least some uncertainty still surrounds Canticles, Ecclesiastes,

and Esther; even more suspicion attaches to Daniel.

These conclusions cannot be called startling. For the most part they are consonant with theories presented by many recent scholars. Nevertheless, it is of no little importance to be able to marshal manuscript evidence when instructing students in the process of canonization.

II

The Dead Sea Scrolls are relevant to Old Testament literary-historical criticism. Ginsberg certainly makes a strange statement when he says, "Upon higher criticism . . . the Dead Sea Texts . . . shed no light at all."¹⁰ It may be true that at no point do the Scrolls furnish irrefutable proof. The fact remains that they do have something to say, something that is distinctly relevant to serious teaching of Old Testament History and Literature. Here the Scrolls speak at three distinct points: the dates of certain books, their composition, and the interpretation of various passages.¹¹

(1) As Hyatt has suggested, the Dead Sea Scrolls tend to support a late date for two Old Testament books, Daniel and Esther.¹² It is reasonable to suppose that the late authorship of Daniel helps to account for the free treatment it received at Qumran. That is to say, the nature of the Daniel fragments suggests that this book had not had time to reach full status in the community. Similarly, the absence of an Esther fragment may be related to its late authorship.

These points are admittedly speculative. We are on much firmer ground in suggesting that the Scrolls warn against an excessively late dating of other books—particularly Ecclesiastes, Psalms, and certain of the prophets.

The book of Ecclesiastes is represented by two fragments from Cave IV,¹³ the older of which is reported to date between 175 and 150, and which, it is said, shows evidence of textual development.¹⁴ If so, this would push

the original back to about 200 at the latest, thus refuting those scholars who have been inclined to date the book in the late second, or even first, century.¹⁵ But the Qumran fragment is not incompatible with the more recent consensus among scholars that Ecclesiastes is probably from the third century.

The prophetic books and the Book of Psalms doubtless were completed in major part before the advent of the Qumran community. But few would deny that these books probably received later additions from time to time. However, those who have suggested extremely late additions, from Hellenistic and Maccabean times,¹⁶ must now reckon with the Qumran evidence. Numerous scrolls of the prophets (though admittedly fragmentary) date from the second century,¹⁷ as does at least one of the seventeen Psalms manuscripts.¹⁸ This suggests the improbability of Maccabean additions, although it does not rule out Hellenistic pre-Maccabean additions (*ca.* 331-165).

The Qumran commentaries on Psalms and the prophetic books¹⁹ simply show that the biblical works are earlier than the commentaries themselves. Since, however, the commentaries were presumably made only on canonical books—that is, on books whose form was probably pretty well fixed—we may conjecture that any additions pre-date the commentaries. Thus, the very presence of the commentaries warns against the assumption that Psalms and the prophetic books contain extremely late secondary passages.

One other bit of indirect evidence is relevant here. Cross has made a study of the Thanksgiving Psalms, and on the basis of their language, symmetry, mood and theological structure has concluded that they are distinctly later than the Old Testament Psalms. Since some of the Qumran works are from the second century, this supports an earlier dating for the Psalms.²⁰

(2) The Scrolls further contribute to lit-

erary-historical criticism in that they shed light on the composition of certain Old Testament books. I shall not speak here of the possible contribution of the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll to the Isaiah-Deutero-Isaiah problem. In the last analysis, that Scroll does not seem to be significant here, even though Kahle and Milik have made some interesting suggestions to the contrary. Nor shall I speak of the absence of the Habakkuk Psalm from the Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk; the significance of this is extremely obscure.

Much more certain, and no less important, is the way in which one of the Qumran texts helps us to understand the composition of the Book of Daniel. The Aramaic "Prayer of Nabonidus" from Cave IV²¹ contains a narrative about Nabonidus, the last of the Neo-Babylonian kings, who was smitten by a seven-year illness, separated from men, and whose recovery was aided by a young Jew who counseled him about the Most High God. In content, mood, and vocabulary the story is strikingly similar to that told of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4. In fact, we now have the same story told twice, and are thus constrained to explore the literary relationship between the two accounts. Babylonian records suggest that the illness and "exile" better accord with the history of Nabonidus,²² and that he, not Nebuchadnezzar, was the original monarch in the story. Many scholars²³ assume, therefore, that the Prayer of Nabonidus somehow underlies Daniel 4, and that in Daniel the name Nebuchadnezzar has been substituted for Nabonidus. Such an assumption does not make explicit the exact literary relationship of the two accounts, but this is a technical problem which cannot be pursued here.²⁴ The point is that if the initial assumption is valid, the Dead Sea fragment greatly clarifies our understanding of the composition of Daniel 1-5; here are three stories originally told of Nebuchadnezzar and one each about Nabonidus and Belshazzar. (Incidentally,

this also clarifies the puzzling statement in Daniel 5:2 that Nebuchadnezzar was the father of Belshazzar. The shift of names from Nabonidus to Nebuchadnezzar at that point probably accompanied the identical shift in Daniel 4.)

We may note one other way in which the Dead Sea materials testify to the composition of Daniel. Although at least seven copies of Daniel have been found, not one of them shows any acquaintance whatever with the Apocryphal additions Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and the Song of the Three Young Men.²⁵ Apparently, the Daniel known at Qumran was the shorter version.

(3) The Dead Sea Scrolls provide assistance in the interpretation of certain Old Testament passages. An example is the way the Prayer of Nabonidus contributes to our understanding of the famous Handwriting on the Wall passage in Daniel 5. The basic difficulty in this part of the narrative is that we do not know what the text of the original inscription was. The Masoretic text gives it as *m^ene', m^ene', t^eqel, upharsin* (vs. 25), but Daniel's interpretation of it (vss. 26-28) seems to presuppose a shorter, three-word form: *m^ene', t^eqel, p^eres*; and there is strong Versional support for that reading. The textual problems are far too complicated to pursue here. Be that as it may, the original words seem to have designated weights, and by an extension of meaning probably also designated Neo-Babylonian kings.²⁶ Daniel accomplished his interpretation by reading the original noun forms as verbs; that is, numbered (*m^ena*), weighed (*t^eqal*), divided (*p^eras*). But which kings were alluded to in the original riddle? Any number of suggestions have been proposed. The Prayer of Nabonidus, by showing that Dan. 1-5 is a series of stories about Nebuchadnezzar, Nabonidus, and Belshazzar, as we have already noted, also clearly suggests that it is these same three kings to which the riddle alludes: *m^ene'*—Nebuchadnezzar; *t^eqel*—Nabonidus; *p^eres*—Belshazzar.

But what if the longer Masoretic form of the inscription was the original one? In that case the identification of the kings is not yet fully assured. However, those who seek to solve the riddle must account for this new evidence and the three kings it suggests.

III

The Scroll materials provide an excellent introduction to the text of the Old Testament. Perhaps one or two very general comments will suffice at this point. From photographs and photostats of these materials the student may quickly gain a wealth of insight about the nature of early hand-copied materials—the care lavished on the scrolls, the meaning of textual variants, the phenomena of scribal errors and corrections. Such lessons are not only valuable in themselves; they have far-reaching consequences. They help to provide anticipatory answers to questions concerning the essential nature of biblical literature and the infallibility of Scripture—questions which still trouble many undergraduates.

In conclusion, it seems somewhat paradoxical that the instructor in Old Testament, having read in the Scrolls and sampled the works that treat them, should come away disappointed. Yet some of us have had that experience. It is not that the Scrolls lack relevance for our teaching! On the contrary, they have specific and important contributions to make, as I have tried to show. But the sensational language used to herald these discoveries together with the rather fantastic approaches adopted by some of the first writers on the subject may have conditioned us to expect too much, raised too high our expectation of what the Scrolls could contribute, or, to put it more properly, oriented us in the wrong direction. "The greatest manuscript discovery of modern times," to use Albright's words, remains just that. Nevertheless, we now know that many of the early, imaginative claims must be rejected.

Hence, we must proceed with much soberness in our study, evaluation, and utilization of these materials.

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- ²⁴ Milik (*Revue Biblique*, 63, 410) thinks that Daniel 4 is a direct literary borrowing from the Prayer of Nabonidus. More likely, however, both Daniel and the Qumran document derive from an earlier work—oral or written—and the Qumran fragment preserves a form of the story closer to the original, while Daniel gives the modified form. This point of view is followed, though with individual variations, by Freedman (*BASOR*, 145, 31-32), Cross (*The Ancient Library* . . . , pp. 123-24), and Burrows (*More Light* . . . , p. 174).
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The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Teaching of the New Testament to Undergraduates

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OUR problem is the contribution of the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the introductory study of the New Testament. Obviously, the way in which the Qumran materials are used will depend on what each teacher is trying to do. What one man will find useful may not be relevant to someone else whose conception of what is important in teaching the New Testament is different.

My first suggestion is that the Dead Sea Scrolls can be very useful in helping students to see more clearly the strengths and limitations of historical scholarship. Of course, the students do not need the Scrolls for this; the more alert students come to be aware of the nature of the method anyway. But the Scrolls are so new, and scholarship concerning them is so changing, that students can, I believe, very fruitfully be helped to see what it is that historical scholarship is doing with these materials; while with respect to the New Testament itself, students are naturally more reluctant to confront the tentativeness, uncertainty, and relativity of historical conclusions. Thus I am suggesting that Qumran needs to be presented as unfinished business; or rather that in spite of our predilection for settling down into a comfortable rut of assured results, we can scarcely avoid presenting Qumran studies with all the breath-

taking fluidity in which they actually exist. There are various aspects to be noted: The fruitful cooperation between Jewish, Catholic, Orthodox Protestant, and rebellious Protestant students is an obvious feature. Also worthy of note is the fascinating relation between theological predilections and historical conclusions which is so obvious in Qumran studies—fascinating precisely because of its unpredictable character, not yet solidified into traditional lines. Thus the pressures behind Mr. Edmund Wilson's judgments are quickly seen. Similar pressures exist also in the case of Mr. Allegro or Dr. Albright or you or me. One of the interesting things about Qumran studies is that scholars still easily cross these lines of theological predilection and learn from one another in a most interesting way. A little more seriously, we should point our students to the way in which the work of historical reconstruction goes on through a dialogue between the theological and human concerns of our time and the situation presented by the materials themselves.

To many of us it seems that the interesting questions about Qumran center largely in its eschatology, together with such related questions as its Messianic belief and its interpretation of Scripture. I have often wondered whether this eschatological thrust of the Qumran materials would have been apparent to scholars if the whole lot had come to light at the time of Shapira's Deuteronomy scroll. We see eschatology as important in the Scrolls because eschatology is, for us, a helpful framework within which to see what is central in biblical faith. An earlier—or, for that matter, a later—generation may not find this a helpful way of putting

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things, and they may look for other things in the Scrolls. On the other hand, eschatology is in focus not just because of our present concern with it, but precisely because it was found to be, in documents very much like these, an inescapable historical factor with which a very uneschatological generation had to contend. Similarly the Scrolls are compelling us to reassess our views of the historical situation in numerous ways. To give just one example, when I went to Emory University thirteen years ago, the Western Civilization course used a text which affirmed that Jesus had close contact with the Essenes. Students used to come into our course and ask about this. I would respond that Jesus' message was in dialogue with the Pharisees, but that in dragging the Essenes into the picture, their history textbook was out of date, depending on old nineteenth-century hypotheses. Today, of course, that text is no longer used in Western Civilization. Probably in its place is one that relates Jesus to the Pharisees. In the meantime, in our introduction to the Bible, we have to deal much more seriously with the relation of Jesus to the Essenes and to Essene-type groups.

The last point leads to one final remark on this subject—that the student can come to see that historical study has another component besides the dialogue between our concerns and the historical materials. I refer to the tradition of interpretation. It may seem to the beginner that the Qumran materials, being so new, are without a traditional interpretation, but this is far from the truth. A large part of their fascination springs from the puzzling task of trying to fit them into what we already know of Judaism in their times—the baffling questions of date are only the most obvious aspect of this question—but the combing of medieval Jewish literature, early Christianity, and apocryphal and pseudepigraphic materials by its very nature means fitting Qumran into a tradition of interpretation.

Perhaps I have labored the point, but it does seem to me that the Scrolls provide a most instructive instance of the ways in which historical scholarship operates. Let us turn now to some instances of content.

Many of the things we would most like to know about the Scrolls are not clear and we cannot really expect the beginner to make much out of them. The one section which I find most helpful for use with undergraduates is the section on the two spirits in the Manual of Discipline. Our students are so greatly steeped in "culture-religion" that a faith which really stands over against the world is very hard for them to grasp. We talk about eschatology in the New Testament, but students are so conditioned by a moralistic culture-faith that it is hard for them to apprehend a confrontation with God as something that really sets men over against the world. We can easily mislead our students if we draw too straight a line between the eschatology of Qumran and that of the New Testament, but I find the "two spirits" section about as fine an introduction to a world-denying, eschatological faith as can be found anywhere. Here is a section in which the student can recognize that combination of faith in the impending victory of God's purpose and the harsh dualism of the present world which is not only evident in the Scrolls but is so characteristic of the New Testament as well.

There is another interesting point at which Qumran points up, so to speak, the New Testament. Those who are old enough to have worked with Charles' *Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian* as a main introduction to eschatology will recognize that the themes around which Charles centers his discussion play little part in the eschatological writings from Qumran—eschatology, that is, in the sense of doctrines about the future life. There is remarkably little of this in what we have learned so far from Qumran. There are various reasons for this, yet I do not think that it is misleading

to point out to the student that the core of eschatology is not a doctrine of the future life in the old fashioned sense, but faith in the divine victory. Of course, such doctrines did develop and we can form some idea of those of Qumran. But the real thrust of eschatology lies in the hard choice with which it confronts us. And the paradoxical presentation of this hard choice within the seemingly deterministic framework of the divine eschatological plan makes the section on the two spirits, I believe, by far the most useful single passage from all the Qumran materials for use with the beginning student.

From Qumran as a sample of eschatology let us now turn to its "eschatological" interpretation of Scripture. Here is a realm which is less transparent to the average undergraduate. I think that the issues are not quite so readily perceived. But the area is one where the beginner can see at first hand the values of comparative analysis. The use of the Old Testament by New Testament writers is apt to be a bit baffling to the modern reader, especially as he becomes more accustomed to the historical mode of interpretation which applies the prophecies to their own times. At Qumran he will find readers of the Old Testament who say quite plainly that they understand the prophecies better than the original writers did—at least in matters of greatest concern. Yet the men of Qumran, like those of the New Testament church, approached the Scriptures historically in the sense that they saw themselves standing in a meaningful continuity with the Scriptures. Both groups viewed the Scriptures as finding their central meaning in acts of God which were about to take place. The preliminaries of such acts had, indeed, already begun to take place.

Fortunately, undergraduate students still ask some of the simple questions which we scholars often ignore. Here are two groups, both of which apply the Scriptures to themselves. It is one thing to stand off and see how one type of interpretation of Scripture

is related to another. But the undergraduate is more concerned about the question: Can both be right? If one approaches New Testament interpretation in the light of biblical parallels to Qumran, does he not thereby destroy the former's uniqueness and truth? Students can come to see that there are several ways of approaching this question. One may say that both authorities are, or at least may be, right. This would seem to imply that there are certain constants in God's purpose which may with validity be applied to a variety of situations—the theme of judgment, for instance. Such a view would have been popular theologically a generation ago. It is unfashionable today, although less so to our students than to the theologians. But one would have also to show the student that the competitive sects of Qumran and early Christianity would have been most reluctant to admit that the prophecies contained certain general religious or moral truths which could be applied indifferently to either group. Here, as all along the line in the study of early Christianity, Qumran can provide a significant parallel in helping the student think through the meaning of the exclusive claim of the remnant group. This perspective leads theologically into the dimension of knowing the truth, both within the context of the community of faith and through decision for the truth.

A final related aspect of Qumran eschatology, one which has caused very great debate, is the question of the Messiah. Is it true that the men of Qumran had a fixed expectation that three eschatological figures would appear: the prophet, the lay Messiah, and the priestly Messiah? If so, is it legitimate to draw the parallel with Christianity which eventually identifies Christ as prophet, priest and king? Is it true that the Qumran group identified their founder with the coming Messiah? These are questions which we cannot really expect our undergraduates to answer for themselves. Although the eschatology of the two spirits can be meaningful

as a document for introductory New Testament teaching, and while even the Habakkuk commentary can be instructive in leading into important New Testament issues, I do not really believe that we can expect undergraduates to gain an independent grasp of the Messianic question of Qumran. The materials are too obscure and scattered, and their interpretation is too unsure. Thus we find John Allegro saying: "The Qumran sect looked to the coming of a Priestly Messiah, whom they call 'Teacher of Righteousness' and 'Interpreter of the Law.' The fact that these are precisely the terms they apply to the priestly founder of the sect supports the idea that it was none other than their resurrected Teacher who would lead the theocratic community of the New Israel in the Last Days" (*The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Christianity*, p. 14 f.). F. F. Bruce, on the other hand, summarizes his view as follows: "There is no evidence that the Teacher ever made such claims for himself, or that his followers ever thought of him as a Messianic figure" (*Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 127).

Far more important than the students' making up their minds on this matter is their seeing how difficult it is to know what the answer is. Personally, I am dubious of any connection between the Teacher of Righteousness and the expected Messiah, although such connection is not impossible. Students can think about this possibility, even though it is no more than that. As in the case of the interpretation of Scripture—except that here they will sense the issue all the more sharply—the decision in question is an historical one. Our theological thinking is not determined by such a decision, even though it is affected by it. On the whole, the net effect

of the discussion of the Messiah at Qumran ought to be to show the student that while historical studies cannot prove the truth of theological tenets, they can and do clarify the alternatives and the meaning of decisions in the theological sphere.

The above remarks have shown some of the emphases which one teacher finds useful in thinking of the bearing of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the teaching of the New Testament to undergraduates. It will be noted that although my topic was originally defined as "The History and Literature of the New Testament," I have said nothing about the relationship of the Scrolls to such introductory questions as the locale and dates of New Testament books. For one thing, I confess to a certain unorthodoxy here which can be expressed in a remark of my best New Testament teacher: All we know about the Introduction to the New Testament can be written on one sheet of paper. But, of course, even though it is really the case that neither the dates nor the circumstances of the New Testament books are well known to us, neither he nor I would want to press this remark too far. Qumran materials will give us help in this area, one which to my mind is less definite than the area of New Testament thought or theology.

My emphasis has fallen on certain themes in the eschatology of Qumran and on the way in which the confrontation of these themes may help the student better to comprehend some important New Testament issues. For further clarification of the basic issues in Qumran studies, a number of which I have obviously left open, I believe we must wait for the publication in full of more actual texts.

Ought the Teacher Judge Other Religions?

DONALD WALHOUT*

EVERY teacher who undertakes instruction in the world's religions must have a viewpoint, a philosophy of approach in the classroom, from which he handles the subject. All would agree that in any viewpoint there should be an accurate and fair presentation of factual material. The controversial question is whether value judgments should be allowed to enter, and if so, how and where.

It is customary to trace the modern academic interest in world religions to the time—fifty or more years ago—when a very definite viewpoint governed teaching in this field, namely, the so-called “comparative religion” approach. This viewpoint was that of Christianity seeking to make contact with the false religions of the world so that they might be more easily overcome. In order for Christianity to carry out its missionary task of universal conversion, it was necessary to deal with foreign cultures and religions; instruction in world religions supplied this needed background. With such knowledge of the weaknesses and falsities of the non-Christian religions at their disposal, evangelists could more intelligently meet the heathen and displace their false religions with Christianity. Comparative religion took on the meaning of comparing the false with the true, i.e., the non-Christian religions with the Christian faith.

Spokesmen for academic objectivity were not slow to point out the dangers in this

approach. The approach is too prone, it was soon charged, to prevent an adequate presentation of the other religions. By focussing primarily on their weaknesses, one risks liability for distortion of the facts. Academic honesty requires first of all an impartial investigation of what the religions actually believe and do, and this in turn requires a temporary suspension of the personal biases by which one would privately appraise the religions. Furthermore, not only are the facts open to distortion, but another prime requisite for understanding other religions is excluded, namely, the sympathetic projection of one's thought and feeling so that the religions being studied may be grasped in their own terms and categories. Religions, like people, require a kind of imaginative empathy to be comprehended in their living significance, and this empathy is quite impossible if one is concentrating exclusively on one's critical judgments. The “comparative” approach, therefore, obstructs an understanding of other religions.

These criticisms are quite independent of whether the critics agreed or disagreed, privately, with the particular value judgment about the relation between Christianity and other religions which was the key assumption in this type of comparative religion. Some of the critics, of course, challenged the assumption itself. Some of these insisted that even if Christianity is the superior religion, there is much truth in other religions, and this truth is what we should focus on, appreciatively and humbly. If we point out weaknesses in other religions, we should also, and perhaps more so, point out their truths so that we may learn from them. This is a modified form of the first approach. Others among the critics questioned the very truth of the assumption and declaimed

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against it because in their opinion it was simply false. Here we encounter, among a wide variety of viewpoints, such typical ones as these: the unitary, but non-Christian, approach that some other religion besides Christianity is the true starting point; the universalistic view that there is a common core of truth in all religions; the pragmatic view that any given religion may be true or false depending on how it works for the individual; and the agnostic approach that none of the religions is really true, although some may have higher ethical qualities than others.

In the light of these kinds of criticism, it is possible to distinguish as many approaches that teachers have taken or could take as there are varieties of private viewpoint. But most teachers are wary about intruding their own value judgments too heavily into the subject. Consequently, an approach has been sought which would be compatible with a wide range of private biases. One such approach appears especially plausible on the surface since it seems to be at once so logically obvious and so academically impartial. In this approach there is in the center of the study a faithful portrayal of the facts as far as time and competence permit. Value judgments are still allowed to enter freely. But this time the aim is not, as in the first approach, to compare the truth of Christianity with the falsity of the other religions, but rather to appraise all the religions equally so that, when it is all over, the student can make his own religious choice. The study is entered with an open mind, and when all the religions have been reviewed and examined the student picks the one that strikes him as superior. Just as he shops for clothes by looking at different fashions in different stores, so he shops about among the world's religions to take the one that suits him. The rationale is baffling in its simplicity: religion is an important human activity; almost everyone feels the need of some form of it; and so we present the student with its var-

ious forms, its good and bad features alike, and we let him make his choice. We make judgments along the way, not to direct his decision, but to help him arrive at his own conclusions. In the end he reaches his own decision, or at least is well along his way toward it.

Despite the plausibility of this approach, caveats against its practicability are not lacking. It may be questioned whether students come to the subject with that open mind or "blank tablet" which this approach assumes. Most likely they come with a very specific, often a denominational, perspective—or at least under the influence of a particular cultural heritage respecting the meaning of religion. They are already predisposed to make value judgments of a particular type and within a restricted if not a fixed framework. Generally, they do not make unbiased appraisals. On the other hand, they may be found swinging to the very opposite pole and insisting that all religions, including the ones they know least about, are all equally right and good, or perhaps equally wrong and bad. They do not generally make critical appraisals. To encourage value judgments in such a context only accentuates such undesirable tendencies. It may also be questioned whether the teacher can enter the process of evaluation in a disinterested manner merely to help the student. We are often told that every value judgment on the teacher's part is by definition an intrusion of his private biases and is in that respect both irrelevant and unwarranted. Moreover, if the teacher imagines that his judgments will not influence student decision, he is very much mistaken. Students tend to look upon him, whether deservedly or not, as something of an expert in making judgments, simply because he has worked longer and more intensively on the factual part of the subject. Too often they will take over his value judgments as their own. Lastly, it may be questioned whether students have the volitional motivation presupposed here.

Is it the case that students really come to the study of world religions with the aim of looking them all over impartially, selecting the one that suits them, and then going out afterwards to practice the religion they have chosen? This seems very doubtful in most instances. Student motivations are much more diverse and complex. If, therefore, some correlation is to obtain between the aim of the subject and the religious status of students, this approach hardly establishes it.

The foregoing difficulties and complexities in introducing value judgments into the study of world religions have led to what is probably the most common approach today, that of evaluational neutrality. This viewpoint holds that since the attempt at evaluation is generally premature, uncritical, or beset with other complications, value judgments ought to be omitted entirely. The teacher is much better advised simply to present the facts of the religions, enter as far as possible into their spirit, seek to understand them, and stop there. What the students do with their knowledge by way of evaluation outside the classroom is a purely private affair. Value judgments, no doubt, there must be; but these are individual matters and form no part of the academic task. Conceivably, they may be legitimate in the philosophy of religion, but not in a course in world religions. Comparative religion thus gives way to the history of religions, whatever the course title might be.

The question is whether the last-mentioned approach is any more satisfactory than the first two. The problem is solved for the teacher. Or better, the teacher's task is made easier, if that is what we want. This approach solves the problem by getting rid of it. But does it solve the problem for the student? And does it provide greater significance to the subject matter and more clarity to the presentation? Certainly the time available could be well spent in more exposition and understanding. Time con-

siderations could readily justify a fuller presentation of facts, which are never surveyed fully enough. But the question is not one of time. It is one of principle.

We are compelled to suggest two difficulties in the neutralist approach. The first is that evaluation cannot be avoided even if we try. This is obviously true in the case of students. Their questions, their comments, their interpretations are shot through with evaluational interests and viewpoints. If we deal with these, we are immediately involved in value judgments. The only way to avoid this is to prevent student participation. Such a tactic cuts off only the audible form of the concern. Further, is it not true that teachers themselves cannot avoid value judgments? Are we so naive as to imagine that our interpretations and expositions are not influenced by what we think of religion and the religions? How can we assume that students are unable to catch something of our viewpoint through our selection of materials, our organization and emphasis, our interpretations, our incidental remarks, and even our tone of voice? We learn something by these means about students; why cannot they do so with us? Would it not be wiser, therefore, to acknowledge openly the presence of evaluational viewpoints? We are always free to admit only such value judgments as do not get out of hand by distorting the subject matter.

The second difficulty is that evaluation is not only unavoidable but is indeed a proper and legitimate human concern. To ignore this is to become less than fully relevant in our subject. Many students are seriously troubled about religion, perhaps because of having no background in it or perhaps because of having too much background. Such students are quite prepared to adopt any one of a number of widely differing alternatives, depending upon which turns out to be most convincing to them. Other students may be quite sure of their own religious faith but uncertain of what to think about other reli-

gions. Students in our classes have the right to expect that their course in world religions will tangibly assist them in this process of evaluation.

The desired solution must be a composite one, an integrated one. It must somehow include objective presentation, sympathetic understanding, and judicious evaluation.

We must begin by recognizing that the one common interest which brings students together to study the world's religions is the desire to gain more knowledge of them, the desire to understand them. This is fundamental. Beyond this we can acknowledge additional student motivations which have a legitimate though lesser place in the study. We have to grant, too, that the teacher is not likely to be free from value judgments, explicit or implicit. But we must assert that he has a right and even an obligation, wherever evaluations are appropriate, to express his own value judgments, so long as these do not put the study off balance. We may also incorporate, despite an element of disagreement, such truth as is contained in the three rejected approaches. We can and ought to maintain that there is both truth and falsity in religion, and that therefore one has the right, wherever evaluations are called for, to judge from that viewpoint which he considers valid. And we can insist that objectivity, while not the sole academic virtue, is still an indispensable quality in preventing distortion and prejudice.

With the above remarks as background, we may summarize our proposed composite approach in a sequence of five propositions:

1. The central core and the primary allocation of time in the study of world religions should consist in as full and fair an exposition as possible of current knowledge available on the religions. Without this, a firm and accurate foundation would be lacking and other interests would be misguided. Part of the study at this level can be a factual comparing of different religions on successive

topics—a procedure properly identified as "comparative religion." It is a pity that the ready meaning of this phase has been blurred. This meaning provides an analogy to comparative government, comparative literature, etc.

2. The study should lead not merely to factual knowledge but to a sympathetic grasp of the spirit and significance of the religions as seen by the adherents themselves—to the extent that this is possible for outsiders.

3. A rightful function of any such study is to promote world understanding and mutual tolerance through increased appreciation of other peoples and cultures.

4. In view of the inevitability of value judgments and of natural student interest in them, it is legitimate, within the bounds of tact, time, and accurate knowledge, to engage in evaluations of the various religions. This means that our title question is answered in the affirmative, with the qualifications mentioned above.

5. Two types of evaluation may be discreetly employed. One of these is of a more general type. It proceeds by first defining a set of moral and philosophical criteria regarding human values and spiritual life, and then judges the religions from the standpoint of these criteria. With due awareness of their limited utility, it is possible to utilize with some profit such distinctions as higher and lower religion, mature and immature religion, universal and provincial religion. The other type of evaluation is a straightforward appraisal of other religions from the specific viewpoint which one accepts himself. In this case it is essential to make explicit the assumptions from which one's criticism proceeds and to give fair consideration to alternative evaluations that call for a hearing. In both cases, without allowing that every opinion is equally valid, we may affirm the democratic obligation of all concerned to arrive at their own decisions.

Yehezkel Kaufmann's View of the Religion of Israel*

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SINCE 1937 Yehezkel Kaufmann has been publishing in modern Hebrew a history of Israelite religion which offers a challenge to the prevailing critical view of the nature and development of that religion. Eight volumes have been published, the last in 1956. Kaufmann has had great influence in some circles, especially on Jewish scholars, but his influence has necessarily been confined largely to those who read modern Hebrew. We are now in the very fortunate position of having a translation into English of his work, or rather of its most important portions. This is not a translation of all that has appeared in Hebrew, but an abridgement of the material devoted to the pre-exilic period; nothing is presented from Volume VIII, which deals with the post-exilic age. But it is in the pre-exilic period that Kaufmann puts the greater part of ancient Hebrew literature and also its important religious creativity.

Kaufmann's work is monumental—not alone in the sense that it is very extensive but also in that it offers a fundamental criticism of the prevailing view, which is based on the work of Julius Wellhausen, and presents an alternative to that view which is in no way fundamentalistic or obscurantist, but makes use of critical methods. When a careful scholar says that the direction of the evolution of Israelite religion was from monotheism to monolatry, and that the Torah

preceded classical prophecy, the reader can be prepared for some startling differences from the regnant critical view of Israelite history and religion.

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I

According to Kaufmann, monotheism began in the age of Moses. While he constantly insists that monotheism was the belief of the *people* of Israel, he does not deny to Moses a creative role in the beginning of their monotheistic faith. Moses was "the initiator of a religious revolution" and "the creator of an original idea" (p. 227). This religion was utterly different from paganism and was not influenced by it. Moses was not led to his belief in one God by any "tendencies toward monotheism" in other religions, Egyptian or otherwise. "Israelite religion was an original creation of the people of Israel. It was absolutely different from anything the pagan world knew; its monotheistic world view has no antecedents in paganism" (p. 2). The author means by paganism "all the religions of mankind from the beginnings of recorded history to the present, excepting Israelite religion and its derivatives, Christianity and Islam" (p. 21). He often speaks of vestigial remnants of paganism, linguistic fossils, and poetic imagery derived from foreign sources, but he

* YEHEZKEL KAUFMANN. *The Religion of Israel, From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*. Translated and abridged by Moshe Greenberg. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960. xii + 486 pages. \$7.50.

believes that these things did not touch the essence of the faith of the people.

The monotheistic idea was not a product of speculation or of mystical meditation, as in Greece or India. "It first appeared as an insight, an original intuition" (p. 60). Moses was an apostle-prophet (the word "apostle" being used in its etymological sense of "one who is sent on a mission"). "He was sent; his God revealed himself to him and let him hear his voice. Intuitive insight took the shape of a prophetic vision" (p. 228). It is difficult to determine whether Kaufmann attributes monotheism basically to the intuition of Moses and the people, or to special revelation; or whether he considers these as two sides of the same process. He seems to put the emphasis on human intuition and insight, rather than on supernatural revelation.

The nature of the Israelite faith is clearly summed up in the following: "the biblical religious idea, visible in the earliest strata, permeating even the 'magical' legends, is of a supernal God, above every cosmic law, fate, and compulsion; unborn, unbeginning, knowing no desire, independent of matter and its forces; a God who does not fight other divinities or powers of impurity; who does not sacrifice, divine, prophesy, or practice sorcery; who does not sin and needs no expiation; a God who does not celebrate festivals of his life. An unfettered divine will transcending all being—this is the mark of biblical religion and that which sets it apart from all the religions of the earth" (p. 121).

This monotheism implies, however, only a delimited kind of universalism. It is a universalism of the dominion and power of deity, but not of his favor and self-revelation. Yahweh is in reality ruler of the whole world, but he has revealed himself and shown his special favor only to Israel. It is the type of monotheism which is expressed in Deuteronomy 4:19 and 32:9: Yahweh has allotted other deities to the foreign nations, but Israel alone is the "portion of Yahweh."

The patriarchs before the time of Moses

were not monotheists. They were no more than links in the chain leading to monotheism. Kaufmann considers the patriarchs as historic figures, whose history took place largely under the Nineteenth Dynasty of Egypt after 1350 B.C. The Israelite tribal federation goes back to the patriarchal period, and is thus not a product of the age of conquest and settlement.

The Israelites were not genuine desert nomads; at best their life was semi-nomadic. Israelite religion was born amidst a high cultural environment, the nations of Egypt, Mesopotamia and Canaan. There was no "nomadic ideal" in Israel.

The conquest of Canaan was carried out by the confederation of tribes, who were only partially successful, taking over mainly the central highlands.¹ The Bible knows two kinds of boundaries of the land: those of the real land, occupied by the Israelites; and those of the utopian land, which could never be conquered but existed only in the imagination. However, the Israelites completely destroyed or dispossessed the Canaanites (except the Gibeonites), according to the law of *herem*. Thus, Israelite religion received no basic influence from the Canaanites, and it cannot be considered as an amalgam of Canaanite and native elements. The only Baalistic cults in Israelite history were promoted by kings and the royal court (particularly under Ahab and Jezebel, and Manasseh), and were never adhered to by many of the common people.

One of the points which the author constantly seeks to make is that the Bible never combats mythology, and never conducts a polemic against the existence of foreign gods as living realities. (He defines mythology in the narrow sense of stories about the gods and their activities and relationships, not in the broad sense used by Bultmann.) The only polemic is against idolatry. It was natural for the foreigners to worship their own idols in their own land. In Israel idolatry was really fetishism. Kaufmann says that

"the popular idolatry was not authentic polytheism, with mythology, temples, and priesthoods. It was vestigial idolatry, a vulgar superstition of the sort that the ignorant level of monotheistic peoples practices to this day. YHWH was God, but the vulgar believed also in the virtue of idols, amulets, spells, and pagan rites; saw no harm in traffic with satyrs and demons; believed in the influence of the host of heaven. They did not practice a genuine, mythological cult of pagan gods, but they did not reject the host of anonymous *'elitim* and *teraphim*. . . . Besides this there was at times another form of 'idolatry': the worship of YHWH in pagan ways" (p. 142).

The judges of Israel were "apostle-saviors." Some may have been contemporaneous with others, and some may have been famous only locally. They were "men of the spirit." In the time of the settlement a new cultic factor came into being: the sanctity of the land of Israel. Foreign lands were considered impure. Certain sanctuaries came to be more venerated than others, but they were *not* taken over from the Canaanites. The Bible is only partly correct in considering this a time of great idolatry; it was only that "vestigial fetishistic idolatry" which prevailed throughout the pre-exilic period among the ignorant masses.

The kingship of Israel was instituted partly because of the need to meet the Philistine menace. The Israelites never believed in a divine kingship; the king succeeded to the task of the prophet-judge, not of the priest. The king was the elect of Yahweh. David, however, was considered as "more than just another savior of Israel; he is the ultimate savior, his kingship is the final expression of God's grace" (p. 268).

Kaufmann values highly the classical prophets. Yet, he places the "Torah literature" before prophecy, and says that the classical prophecy was rooted in the earlier popular religion; it did not so much repudi-

ate that religion as rise above it. In the classical prophets "Israelite religion reached a new height. They were the first to conceive of the doctrine of the primacy of morality, the idea that the essence of God's demand of man is not cultic, but moral. This doctrine regards human goodness as the realization of the will of God on earth. It negates the intrinsic, transcendent value of the cult" (p. 345). The latter point is made several times: the prophets did not absolutely oppose the cult (sacrifice, festivals, prayer, etc.) but they denied that it had any intrinsic or absolute value. It was not to be conceived as magic, working automatically. The earlier literature had put much emphasis on the cult, and had condemned cultic sins. The prophets condemned Israel for moral sins. Some of the prophets repudiated the power state and militarism, and the last two—Jeremiah and Ezekiel—looked forward to the time when idolatry would be abolished among foreign nations.

Kaufmann goes to great pains to try to prove that Israel was not really as wicked as portrayed by Jeremiah and Ezekiel; thus Israel did not actually deserve the exile. He makes a distinction between an empirical view of the fall of Jerusalem, and the dogmatic religious view presented in the prophets—and supported by Christian doctrine—which "regards the two destructions of Jerusalem as merited by the continuous sin of Israel, which was climaxed by the rejection of Jesus" (p. 403). The author can succeed in this only by making Ezekiel a very unrealistic, highly imaginative prophet, given to fantasy, as we shall see. An empirical view of the fall of Jerusalem tells us that it fell "because the might of Babylonian arms overwhelmed the small state of Judah which was abandoned in the field by all its allies" (p. 401).

II

It should be quite clear that Kaufmann is not a fundamentalist or literalist, of the sort

prepared to defend the complete historicity of the Old Testament. He often declares statements in the Bible to be unhistorical or legendary; at several points he rejects the "historiosophy"—philosophy of history—of the biblical writers. He can say of the Torah that it embodies "divergent and at times mutually contradictory matter" (p. 448). He often says that the biblical writers misunderstood the nature of Israelite idolatry.

Kaufmann considers three conclusions of classical criticism as assured (pp. 156-157):

(1) He accepts the analysis of the three primary sources, JE, P, and D, together with their laws and narrative framework; the author is especially insistent that there are three separate and mutually independent legal corpora.

(2) The present Torah book was not in pre-exilic times canonical and binding on the nation. Before this book came into existence, there was a long period of literary creation by priests and religious writers.

(3) Deuteronomy was promulgated in the reign of Josiah, and the Torah as a whole was promulgated in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The author thus accepts the broad outline of the classical literary analysis. He differs in the dating of the sources, and in his interpretation of the history of religion based on those sources. Actually, he is not very precise in the dating of the separate sources (see p. 291). JE and the materials that went to make up the Torah-group (which includes both the Pentateuch and the historical books, Joshua through Kings) are pre-prophetic. D was apparently composed in the period between Hezekiah and Josiah, perhaps some of it before Hezekiah. Kaufmann believes that much of the literature often assigned to post-exilic times is early: Proverbs, Jonah, and Job are all pre-exilic, and none of the Psalms is later than the exilic 137th.

He completely rejects the Scandinavian oral-tradition school of criticism. Its view of the way in which the Torah came into being "is quite unclear in details," and its religious-historical views "are even more paganistic than those of the classical criticism" (p. 156, n. 1).

The author thus seems to imply that the basic trouble with much of the criticism with which he disagrees is that it is "paganistic"! He often asserts that "the critics" fail to see the obvious, and that they fashion their literary analysis or interpretation to fit preconceived notions of history. At two points it appears to me that Kaufmann has done precisely the same thing himself. The two books that most clearly contradict his view of Israelite monotheism and popular idolatry are Hosea and Ezekiel. Kaufmann deals with the former by dividing the fourteen chapters of Hosea into First Hosea and Second Hosea (he believes also in First and Second Isaiah, and First and Second Zechariah); he deals with Ezekiel by asserting that the prophet was given to fantasy.

The book of Hosea consists of two distinct literary units, whose authors lived about a century apart. First Hosea (chapters 1-3) must have been written before King Jehu destroyed the Baalistic cult once for all (II Kings 10:28). Kaufmann thus proceeds to place the earlier prophet in the time of Jehoram, son of Ahab (853-42 B.C.), by rejecting the Massoretic reading "house of Jehu" in 1:4, and supposing that the original reading was "house of Jehoram" (for which he thinks a slight support is given by the Septuagint's "Judah" for "Jehu"). First Hosea is thus a product of pre-classical prophecy.

Second Hosea (chapters 4-14) prophesied between 732 and 725 B.C. But his work is not, as many scholars hold, a mine of information concerning the syncretistic worship of Israel. To Second Hosea, Baal worship is a sin of the past only (9:10; 13:1); the

"harlotry" and the licentiousness to which it refers really have nothing to do with Baal worship.

As for Ezekiel, Kaufmann's theory regarding the religion of Israel is embarrassed by that prophet's portrayal of the sins of Israel, particularly his description of the abominations in the temple in chapter 8, and his interpretation of the history of the nation as one of continual sinfulness and apostasy from the very beginning. Kaufmann thinks that Ezekiel was given to fantasy and imagination; much that the prophet portrays is based upon what he had heard about the reign of Manasseh. For Kaufmann, both the prophet's histories and his visions of events in Jerusalem "are products of an exuberant imagination and have no historical worth" (p. 432). Of the fantastic description in chapter 8, he says: "Ezekiel who was carried to Jerusalem by his hair in a vision sees these things, but Jeremiah who frequented the temple and its courts does not" (p. 430). It is probable that Ezekiel never left Babylonia.

III

This work of Kaufmann is very valuable, and one can learn much from it. It is filled with many acute insights, and will doubtless stimulate other scholars to re-think many problems. To some extent, however, the "classical criticism" of Wellhausen is a straw man, for in many respects Old Testament scholarship has gone beyond the positions described here. Yet Kaufmann's basic agreement with the literary analysis of classical criticism (as well as the partial agreement of the Scandinavian school) should help to demonstrate how solidly founded that analysis is.

There are many points at which I find myself in agreement with Kaufmann, or at which I find his views most suggestive. For example, he has correctly shown that many of the strands that finally went into P were early; many scholars will agree with that

view. We should not think of P as having been composed by Ezra in Babylon and brought back to Palestine from there.

The author's repeated emphasis on the biblical view that man has freedom and responsibility before God, and may choose either to obey or rebel, is salutary. His remarks on repentance are valuable, particularly the paragraph on p. 284. His discussion of the difference between the true and false prophets is illuminating (p. 278): the false prophet was a prophet only of weal, and was given to moral complacency; the true prophet was a prophet of both woe and weal, and was morally alert. Very suggestive is the point that the rift between prophecy and history, or between the ideal and the real, in classical prophecy indicates that the words of the prophets attained quasi-canonical status very early.

Yet, I find myself asking many questions about Kaufmann's theories. In particular, his basic position respecting Israelite monotheism is not convincing. His view of what he calls paganism seems to me distorted, and hence his attempt to interpret the religion of Israel as utterly different and radically new fails. It appears to me to be erroneous history and inadequate theology to say that Hebrew religion was utterly new or unique. (The same remark should be made about Christianity.) Also, Kaufmann's distinction between idolatry as fetishism and idolatry as true polytheism is too sophisticated; it is not likely that the distinction would have been understood by the ancient Israelite. I wonder if the average Israelite did not consider the idol to be a god, and if the distinctions even of the ancient Hebrew theologians were not lost on him.

As for the view that Israelite religion was monotheistic from the time of Moses, there are a number of basic questions that ought to be asked.

(1) Kaufmann says on p. 230: "We do not have a reliable account of the original

content of Moses' message. Although the whole biblical literature is a product of the deep transformation that it brought about, the Bible tells nothing of the course of that transformation." Is not the author here a captive of the literary analysis which he espouses? Once he has admitted the presence of the sources in the Pentateuch (JE, D and P), he is driven to say that we do not really know much of a reliable nature about the message of Moses. How then can he be sure that Moses was a monotheist, and that a folk monotheism existed from Moses' time forward? The First Commandment, which seems important to him, can be used as a witness for henotheism as well as for monotheism.

(2) Is not the author's definition of monotheism, quoted above from p. 121, far too abstract and philosophical for Moses and the Mosaic age, and in fact for most if not all of the pre-exilic age? This definition or description seems far removed from the highly personal deity of the Old Testament who chooses, loves, becomes angry, makes demands, repents, and so on. Kaufmann sees that much of the literature of the pre-exilic age is "anthropomorphic," but this does not enter into his own essential definition of monotheism.

(3) Is the religious faith which Kaufmann describes a true monotheism? After describing the faith of Israel as being of the type expressed in Deuteronomy 4:19 and 32:9, he seems compelled to say not only that the foreign nations found it natural to worship their own gods, but that it was valid for them to do so. Isaiah, he says, was the first to envisage the possibility of the abolition of idolatry among the foreign nations, and this was made more definite in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The faith of the early centuries as described by Kaufmann must seem to many to fall short of monotheism, and to be better covered by the term that he and some

other scholars apparently dislike—henotheism.

(4) It should be frankly admitted that Kaufmann's thesis, and the more widely accepted critical thesis that monotheism developed much later than the time of Moses, are both attempts to explain the same set of phenomena. Kaufmann does not deny that the pre-exilic literature contains traces of idolatry, magic, divination, mythology, etc., but these are to him merely vestigial remains of an earlier Hebrew paganism, linguistic fossils, poetic imagery, and the like. The two factors which appear decisive to him are the absence of a polemic against polytheism, and the absence of true mythology in Yahwism. The classical criticism views these various phenomena as steps on the way to monotheism, rather than as vestigial remains of an earlier paganism. We can be certain, on the basis of the prophet's own words, that Second Isaiah was a self-conscious monotheist who saw the implications of his faith; it is possible that a virtual or implicit monotheism existed before his time (perhaps in Amos, or even as early as Elijah). Are not the various phenomena, which are admitted by both sides in the argument, better explained as steps leading to a monotheism which was eventually made explicit, rather than as vestigial remains of a paganism that preceded a monotheism we cannot really demonstrate from contemporaneous sources?

In spite of the criticisms that can be made of this book, it is one from which every reader can learn. The scholarly world should be grateful to Professor Greenberg of the University of Pennsylvania for making it available in a splendid English translation.

REFERENCE

- ¹ Kaufmann's work on the conquest has been translated into English by M. Dagut from the Hebrew manuscript: *The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1953.

Book Reviews

BIBLE

A History of Israel. By JOHN BRIGHT. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959. 500 pages + plates. \$7.50.

Every student of the Old Testament is in the author's debt for this work. Anyone having the responsibility of presenting some kind of coherent treatment of Israel's history in a college or seminary survey course will appreciate the staggering amount of research, the difficult decisions on matters of detail and emphasis, and the larger ponderings of meaning and organization that lie behind such a book. To carry the task to conclusion is, of itself, a significant accomplishment. To carry it to such a successful conclusion as this is doubly significant. This book is a "must" for every student and teacher of the Bible, an essential part of any adequate working library.

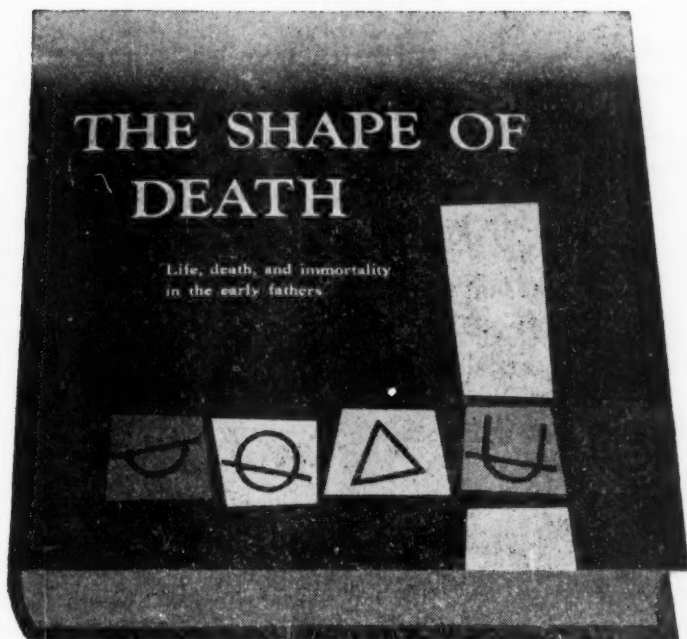
All this is borne out by an examination of some of the features by which the book is commended. Every phase of Israel's history is set within the context of the wider historical setting, and the prologue is a masterful survey of the history of the ancient Orient from the time of the earliest known settlements until the beginning of the second millennium B.C. No one can read the book without having been introduced to every bit of significant archeological and documentary evidence for the history of the Near East from the Stone Age until the end of the Old Testament period. Now that Bright's and Noth's (1958) studies are available, all previous histories of Israel are out of date—although not necessarily valueless.

Furthermore, the bibliographical references in the footnotes put the reader in touch with all the significant recent literature hav-

ing any bearing on Israel's history or the setting of that history. (One wonders why Bright is so modest as to omit mention of his own study, *The Kingdom of God*, in which he develops so well what he says about the kingship of Yahweh on page 135 of the *History*.) Because these references are so complete, the value of the book would have been enhanced by the inclusion of an index of authors, beyond such aids as chronological charts and maps from the *Westminster Atlas*, a list of further readings in English for students, and indexes of subjects and scriptural passages.

Bright's own methodological approach was made clear in his *Early Israel in Recent History Writing* (Studies in Biblical Theology No. 19, 1956). He takes his stand with W. F. Albright against the approach of Alt, Noth, and von Rad epitomized in Noth's *The History of Israel* (English tr., 1958). Bright would insist that the biblical traditions have to be taken seriously and that the corroboration or correction of those traditions by archeological evidence is to be preferred to historical reconstructions arising out of literary or form criticism. "Though the reader will readily see from the footnotes how much I have learned from Noth, he will observe, particularly in the handling of Israel's early traditions and history, a fundamental dissimilarity between his book and this" (p. 9). Moreover, "Israel's history is a subject inseparable from the history of Israel's religion. It is for this reason that the attempt has been made, as far as space allowed, to accord religious factors their proper place in and alongside political events" (pp. 9-10). This latter emphasis is also in contrast to the approach of Noth.

To what extent Bright's methodology



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produces sounder results than that of Noth the reader must judge for himself. This reviewer is not convinced that Bright's treatment of the conquest, for example, squares with the evidence any better than Noth's: "When we come to the narratives of the conquest, the external evidence at our disposal is considerable and important. In the light of it, the historicity of such a conquest ought no longer to be denied" (p. 117). But what does the external evidence show? The account in Joshua could square with evidence from Debir, Lachish, and Hazor, but it is either ambiguous or wrong with regard to Jericho, Ai, and Bethel (pp. 118-120). Noth may be unduly pessimistic: "The beginning of the Israelite settlement cannot be dated any more exactly and definitely from an archeological point of view than from the evidence of the literary tradition" (Noth, p. 82). However, in spite of his acknowledgment of the problems presented by the text (pp. 117, 120), Bright leaves himself open, with respect to literary and form critical problems, to the same charge he levels at Noth in the matter of archeological evidence: "It is not sound method to brush it aside" (p. 120). If Noth is "nihilistic" (cf. Noth's own comment on this charge in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, VII, p. 263), one cannot avoid the feeling that Bright is apologetic.

The same kind of thing is true of the treatment of the patriarchs (pp. 60-93). Bright has to agree with Noth that "the actual events were vastly more complex than the Bible indicates: an intricate pattern of the confederation, proliferation, and splitting of numerous clan groups" (Bright, p. 83). This being admitted, it simply does not follow either that to "attempt a reconstruction would be profitless speculation" (p. 83) or that "still less does sound method permit us, in the absence of objective evidence, hypothetically to trace the history of the traditions and, on that basis, to pass judgment on them" (pp. 83-84). To define archeological

data as "objective evidence" and then to leave it that "the Bible's narrative accurately reflects the times to which it refers. . . . To what it tells of the lives of the patriarchs we can add nothing" (p. 84) is to have passed judgment on the traditions by default and to have given a false impression of what they are both in terms of Bright's statement about the complex history behind them and in terms of his relating of the patriarchal traditions to Israel's faith (pp. 92-93). The same criticism, in principle, applies to many other points: the Old Testament literature has not been soundly used as historical evidence when the question of its character as literature has not really been faced. We may not agree with Noth's conclusions, but Noth has at least squarely faced the question.

Bright, like Noth, locates the genuine Israel in the pre-monarchical amphictyony and its traditions—in the Mosaic rather than the Davidic covenant. For this reviewer this makes too many things too simple, including biblical theology. Historically, for one thing, it is very difficult to see that Judah was really connected with the amphictyony before the wars with the Philistines or that the exodus tradition originated with groups central to the amphictyony with its strong law and covenant tradition. More important, it is difficult to see that the Mosaic covenant is basic to some of the most theologically central and formative strata in the Old Testament. The "promise and fulfillment" motif of the Davidic covenant (and the patriarchal traditions) is dominant in J, in Isaiah, in Ezekiel, and elsewhere. It was not simply distortion of the Mosaic covenant by post-exilic Judaism that caused Paul to appeal to Abraham instead of Moses. Furthermore, along the same line, it is questionable that the canonical prophets "represent a reform movement whose aim it was to reawaken memory of the now largely forgotten Sinaitic covenant" (p. 247). This is true of the prophets from Samuel to Elijah—at least as we know them as employed

paradigmatically by the strand of tradition in which they figure so importantly. But surely Amos and his successors were something else, and the traditional distinction between former and latter prophets is significant. Precisely against the reactionary emphasis of the anti-Omriad revolution and its continuing effects (as well as against a "secular" nationalism) the canonical prophets insisted on the significance of *present* history in the purpose of the sovereign God.

The above specifically illustrates the ongoing discussion with Bright that filled the review copy with notes. In Noth and Bright we have competent, thorough, up-to-date treatments of Israel's history, and treatments that differ radically. Both must therefore be studied. To ignore them is to be out of date. To ignore one or the other is to avoid the basic issues.

HARVEY H. GUTHRIE, JR.

Episcopal Theological School

Myth and Reality in the Old Testament. By BREVARD S. CHILDS. Studies in Biblical Theology No. 27. Naperville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1960. 112 pages. \$2.00.

The general excellence of this monograph is in keeping with the high standard of scholarship evidenced throughout the entire Studies in Biblical Theology series. The author is at home in the relevant literature and has provided abundant documentation. Although the book grew out of a doctoral dissertation, it is concise and readable. Both the scholar and the interested layman will be stimulated by Professor Childs' fresh approach to the use of myth in the Old Testament.

This study deals with two questions which the author believes that Gunkel and his successors have left without a satisfactory answer: (1) What was the actual process by which Israel sought to overcome myth? (2) What theological factors lay behind

Israel's efforts to demythologize the mythical material which she used?

The first two chapters are devoted to a penetrating analysis of the nature of myth. Childs concludes, "Myth is a form by which the existing structure of reality is understood and maintained. It concerns itself with showing how an action of a deity, conceived of as occurring in the primeval age, determines a phase of contemporary world order. Existing world order is maintained through the actualization of the myth in the cult" (p. 29).

In the third chapter, Childs is concerned to show how the Hebrew dealt with the friction that resulted from the introduction of mythical material into the biblical tradition. The six passages which are examined reveal that there is no uniformity in the degree to which myths were demythologized in the Old Testament. In Gen. 1:1-2, for example, P has demythologized his source to the extent that world reality is the free creation of God, yet he has retained an important vestige of the original myth in 1:2. The latter was not retained as a result of literary indigestion, but as a means of picturing the negative side of creation—"an active chaos standing in opposition to the will of God . . . a reality which continues to exist and continues to threaten his creation" (p. 42). Likewise, the mythical elements of Gen. 3:1-5 have been left there to produce a "calculated tension" (p. 48) in keeping with the complexity of the problem of evil, a reality not created by God and yet not outside his power.

Other mythical passages, however, contain no calculated tension. Gen. 6:1-4 and Exod. 4:24-26 are broken fragments of myths which have become imbedded in Hebrew tradition. Isaiah 11:6-9 and 14:12-21 have been completely demythologized and reduced to a figurative role.

Chapter 4 reveals that the Old Testament uses mythical categories of time and space, but with profound alterations. The author

examines the *Urzeit-Endzeit* mythical pattern in considerable detail. He concludes that the Old Testament writers employ the pattern to express the totality and continuity of God's will and purpose. However, the mythical pattern is drastically altered to accommodate a new reality which has come into being through God's redemptive activity in history (p. 77).

This "new reality" is the subject of Chapter 5. It is here that the biblical and mythical views of reality are furthest apart. The Bible must reject the mythical view of reality because the latter precludes the emergence of anything new. Thus, there is no place in the mythical view for God's new Israel which was realized in Jesus Christ.

This is an excellent monograph and the reviewer does not wish to quibble over trivia. However, a few observations must be made. (1) If the author wishes to assign Amos 9:13 to Amos and Ezekiel 47:12 to Ezekiel (as he apparently does on p. 65), he should at least allude to the critical problems involved. (2) Conservative stylists will regret the repeated use of the "due to" colloquialism (pp. 47, 74, 96). (3) The word "the" appears twice in a minor dittography on page 45. (4) Tiamat is referred to as "he" (p. 45).

EMMETT WILLARD HAMRICK

Wake Forest College

The Prophets of Israel. By C. ROSS MILLEY.
New York: Philosophical Library, 1959.
ix + 143 pages. \$3.75.

Ross Milley states that his aim is not to present any novel insights into the prophets' mission and message but to kindle an enthusiasm for the prophetic contribution to "the three great religions of mankind," Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (pp. 128, 138). The aim is certainly commendable for there is undoubtedly a need for books which do more than inform the reading public of scholarly work in the biblical field.

The task is a difficult one to accomplish within a brief work. Milley has solved it, first, by selecting ethical monotheism as the chief prophetic contribution. He has built the structure of his work upon this theme. The antecedents of the prophetic contribution are to be found in personal experiences of the deity on the part of the patriarchs (here the author follows Albrecht Alt, *Der Gott der Väter*) and in the wilderness sojourn under Moses. After setting forth the conflict between this earlier tradition and that of Canaanite polytheism during the periods of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan and especially the early monarchy, Milley traces a steady development from Amos to the Second Isaiah. With the climax reached in the work of the Second Isaiah the story of the prophets of Israel ends. Second, the author solves the problem of the limitations of a brief work on the prophets by reducing the controversial aspects of varying interpretations. In keeping with the assigned limitations of the study, the author rightly takes a stand for Pfeiffer's or Albright's or some other scholar's opinion without arguing out the involutions of the debates. However, in my opinion, he has shown himself to be too much opposed to disputation through not considering more recent studies on the prophets and on Canaanite religion.

The author has correctly fixed upon the most significant prophetic contribution to three great religions of the world, that of ethical monotheism. One might question his claim that these are *the* three great world religions. He also clearly indicates that God has used men, his prophets, through whom he has revealed his will and nature and that their mission and message and their sense of integrity in discharging this obligation have made a great difference in the Hebrew, Christian, and Islamic traditions.

Certain questions arise respecting the development of the theme of ethical monotheism throughout the prophetic message. What

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is the difference between the assertions that Deutero-Isaiah sets forth "pure" monotheism (pp. 129, 138) and that the Deuteronomic author has arrived at "the highest monotheistic achievement of Israel"? Why is Nathan's story of the ewe lamb not mentioned among the antecedents of ethical monotheistic views—a story that seems to have more relevance than those about Ahijah of Shilo and Elisha (p. 27)? How was Ikhnaton's monotheism specifically different from that of the prophets (p. 80)? Why is the covenant bond not granted a more significant place in the development of the theme?

There are also questions of detail involving the interpretation of the prophetic message itself. The later prophets stressed the significance of the individual and hence arrived at an attitude of universalism which led to the development of a monotheistic concept of God. But where in the Old Testament documents is the individual mentioned as having any independent significance apart from either direct or indirect association with the covenanted group? There are no prophetic proclamations about non-Jews in these prophetic writings on the basis of which God redeems a man through faith alone (e.g., Jesus, a later prophet speaking to a Roman centurion, or Paul in his letters). I also question the interpretation given to "the still, small voice" heard by Elijah as the voice which speaks to Elijah's "moral will" (pp. 25-26). At least, according to the biblical story (I Kings 19:15-18) the voice tells Elijah to prepare men for a bloody revolution in Syria and Israel—a point of view which Hosea later apparently criticized (Hosea 1:4-5). That Jeremiah was one who forgave his enemies seems hardly correct (see Jer. 11:20-23).

Whether this book will kindle enthusiasm for the prophetic message is a question each reader must answer for himself. For my part, Milley's presentation fails to reflect

the imaginative, dramatic, dynamic creativity in the writings of Israel's great prophets.

LUCETTA MOWRY

Wellesley College

The Life and Teaching of Jesus. By EDWARD W. BAUMAN. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 240 pages. \$3.95.

Professor Bauman enters territory already much travelled, not so much to explore as to relate and to inspire. "This book is intended as an introduction to the life and teaching of Jesus for the student and general reader" (p. 229). It is a good one which had an unusual origin. Bauman gained national fame when he presented a simple, direct, orderly, non-sectarian, college-credit course on Jesus over commercial television in Washington. As a participant in one of the sessions, I can testify to the scholarly capacity and the broadcasting skill and charm which Bauman exhibits. This book was written in response to many requests, arising from this remarkably successful venture. The course is being repeated this year with a Lilly grant for the underwriting of films and kinescopes which will make possible an even wider place for the course.

The plan of this slender volume fits it well into a one-term course. There is a brief introduction to the world of Jesus and the sources for study. The study is then divided into two main parts, one on the life of Jesus and the other on his teaching. A conclusion discusses the Gospel of John and the uniqueness of Jesus in summary fashion. An appendix provides directions for further study with readings assigned from various books for each chapter. A short annotated bibliography of some twenty books and one map conclude the work.

Writing with extraordinary clarity, Bauman has provided each chapter with several subheads which portray in capitals the progress of thought. There are simple definitions, apt quotations, occasional flashing phrases,

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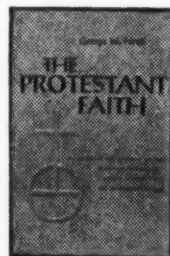
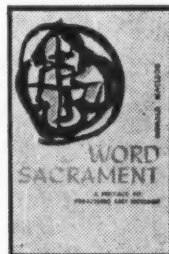
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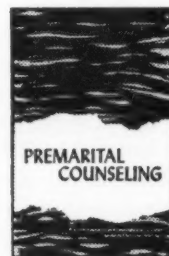
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short effective summaries, diagrams, vivid illustrations both contemporary and historical, quick surveys of developments of important ideas or events, like the Lord's Supper or the Atonement, and frequent pointed repetitions, characteristic of the skilled orator. All these devices of the successful teacher catch the interest of the reader and carry cargoes of information in an inspirational manner. There are no footnotes to divert attention. When there are varying scholarly opinions on important issues or interpretations, Bauman rapidly states them but does not hesitate to give his own preference or to make clear that some questions will remain unsettled. He penetrates to the essentials in his discussions and points out the necessity to distinguish between matters of greater and lesser importance. It appears probable that this text will be a popular one.

It is a truism that a writer on Jesus often reveals himself even more than Jesus. Bauman fits the facts and the interpretation of the Gospels into his own clear framework of thought. He affirms rightly that the life and the teaching of Jesus cannot be separated and that his own separation is only for purposes of study (pp. 40, 125). Much information and considerable homiletic lift are to be found here, and yet brevity and clarity sometimes tend to lull the student into a twentieth-century outlook rather than to help him resolve the complexities of first-century Christianity. For example, there is no mention of the devil in the discussion of the Temptation (pp. 61-2). And "Jesus was an existentialist centuries before the existentialists" (p. 129). Certainties are frequently asserted on matters still in dispute. A strong emphasis on Jesus as Messiah, rather than on his self-designation of "Son of man," is based on the repeated assertion that Jesus said "I am" to the high priest's question (pp. 101, 196, 200). The truth is that only Mark contains this claim. No men-

tion is made by Bauman of the non-committal and ambiguous replies reported in Matthew and in Luke, nor of the opinion that historical details of the hearing before the high priest are doubtful since no followers of Jesus shared it. In spite of a most helpful treatment of the thorny subject of miracles (pp. 65-72) demon possession is not discussed and great confidence is placed in science. Science is credited with "the discovery of God's orderly ways." The outcome of such an orientation might well be to equate miracle with ignorance. The strong statement, "Jesus never demanded that a person believe in miracles in order to believe in him" (p. 68), holds for the Synoptics but hardly for John (see 14:11).

There are minor concerns about which scholars will never see eye to eye but few will agree that John the Baptist "was weak in applying his message to specific ethical situations" (p. 58). Luke (4:10-14) tries to make evident that John did give specific requirements. Also, it is questionable that "the contemporaries of Jesus nailed him to the cross" (p. 221) for suggesting a suffering Messiah. It is not quite accurate to call the many volumes of the Talmud "a book" (p. 33) nor to write that "the dove descends in bodily form" (p. 60) when Luke says "the Holy Spirit descended." Also *bath qol* is not literally "the voice of God" (p. 82) but "daughter of the voice" or "echo," a term used to avoid saying that men heard the actual voice of God. Further, it was the people, not the disciples, who laughed at Jesus (p. 72; cf. Mark 5:40). The Pharisees are opponents of Jesus in three, not five, of the conflict stories (p. 78) if Mark's report is accepted. The chapter on John's Gospel is much too brief for that significant book and it is an extreme statement to declare it "totally unlike the Synoptics" (p. 209).

DWIGHT M. BECK

Syracuse University, Emeritus

THEOLOGY

Gospel and Myth in the Thought of Rudolf Bultmann. By GIOVANNI MIEGGE. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960. viii + 152 pages. \$4.00.

Bishop Stephen Neill has virtually provided my review in his Translator's Foreword: "Professor Miegge has read everything that Professor Bultmann has ever written, and also all the main contributions to the controversy in Germany and elsewhere. With his wide knowledge of the continental theology of this century, he has been able to set the particular controversy in the framework of wider problems of interpretation and of the understanding of the New Testament. I believe that this book may be as enlightening to some other readers as it has been to me" (p. vii).

Dr. Giovanni Miegge, Professor of Church History at the Waldensian Faculty of Theology in Rome, regards his subject as neither hero nor villain but as the spokesman for important currents of European thought in the first half of the twentieth century. Bultmann is controversial precisely because he was involved in a significant controversy affecting all modern Christian interpretation. That the battle lines have shifted somewhat serves only to emphasize the importance of the Marburg exegete as possibly the pivotal religious thinker of the century. Miegge has written an irenic book, and he makes several proposals to show that Bultmann and his critics are not so far apart as they or we think.

The author is convinced that Bultmann's thought has been conditioned by the methods of the religio-historical school and form criticism, which, so Miegge believes, have proved "questionable" in their application to the New Testament. Undoubtedly, Bultmann intends to be bound to the New Testament since he is absolutely committed to the exclusive revelation of God in Christ, the point of his debate with Karl Jaspers; but Miegge

is, if not hostile, at least not cordial to the "history of religions" approach. He goes to great lengths to insure the reader's knowledge that "that of which the New Testament writers speak is generically unique, and different from anything that is to be found in the rival religions" (p. 106). However, it is not always easy to distinguish between Miegge and Bultmann. And questions must arise when the author says, "It is necessary to affirm much more strongly than Bultmann finds himself able to do, the truth and objective reality of the historical and supra-historical event which is summed up in the name of Jesus Christ, the Crucified and Risen One" (p. 136).

One of the most delightful aspects of this volume is its clear organization. The problem is clearly set forth at the beginning of the book: the necessity of reinterpreting the Christian faith in terms of the world in which we live, a world which, in Bultmann's judgment, thinks "scientifically" instead of "mythologically." Inasmuch as Bultmann is tied to the record of the *kerygma* found in the New Testament, our commentator is correct in insisting at the outset that he must be seen first of all as an interpreter of the New Testament. It was out of the pages of the New Testament that Bultmann found God speaking to him in Christ and calling for a decision; but as an honest scholar, another obligation was laid upon him, the problem of "translating" the message of the Gospel into non-mythological terms.

Two central issues emerge, the meaning of mythology and the necessity for self-knowledge. Mythology is "that form of representation in which that which is not of this world is set forth in terms of this world, in which the divine is set forth in terms of the human" (p. 98). Salvation "cannot be anything other than the 'true understanding of the self,' the discovery of 'man's authentic existence'" (p. 67). Christianity, therefore, speaks only to believers (p. 69), and Jaspers' question about what Christ has specifically

done that cannot be done by God in any other way is answered no more satisfactorily by Miegge than by Bultmann. It is difficult to demonstrate that Bultmann's doctrine of creatureliness is the result of his speculations; it may rather be the ground of them. Buddhists use many of the same figures when they insist on "right seeing," but since they *begin* with a radically different self-understanding they come out at a different place.

The interest generated in Bultmann probably stems from the fact that modern man deeply wants to believe and yet cannot give credence to the proclamation of the faith presented to him. It does not necessarily follow that mythology is what really stands in his way. The attempt to demythologize may simply substitute a more implausible myth for the one that has been replaced. I am told I cannot know Jesus, and yet I am told to accept as saving knowledge of God a particular proclamation about Jesus made by men who perhaps did not understand him either. For all the veneration due it, the proclamation of the early church is still a proclamation in need of interpretation. Bultmann's basic assumptions are existentialist. In this frame of reference, he and many modern men are apparently able to find themselves. Bultmann is forced to formulate his understanding of the Gospel in existentialist terms or else he has no understanding. The decisive point is that these two are not the only alternatives.

A definitive treatment of Rudolf Bultmann's contribution to biblical and theological thinking remains to be written. Miegge's book is useful, but it cannot be identified as "the standard work on Bultmann." To Miegge's concise bibliography Professor Bultmann's *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (New York: Scribner's, 1958) must be added. This little volume was published since Miegge wrote in Italian but prior to his English translation. The reviewer believes it to be the best beginning study for the mod-

ern English reading student. In that book Professor Bultmann has already accomplished by his own pen much of what Dr. Miegge sets out to do for him.

HARRY M. BUCK, JR.

Wilson College

Existence and Faith. Shorter Writings of Rudolf Bultmann. Selected, translated, and introduced by SCHUBERT M. OGDEN. New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1960. 320 pages. \$1.45.

This is an original Living Age Book, not a reprint of a previously published volume. It provides a representative selection of Bultmann's shorter writings dating from 1917 to 1957 and a brief autobiographical statement prepared especially for this volume.

The book includes two sermons, a meditation, an address, a long review (of Cullmann's *Christ and Time*), a letter to an editor, a polemical article provoked by developments in the post-war German church ("On Behalf of Christian Freedom"), several essays on problems in exegetical and systematic theology, several long monographs, and the most extended discussion Bultmann has ever furnished of his relation to Heidegger and existentialism ("The Historicity of Man and Faith").

The editor's purpose in assembling this group of writings is to help English-speaking readers to understand the full scope of Bultmann's contribution to contemporary theology. There is a widespread impression that Bultmann's concern with demythologization and existential interpretation represents a late stage in his development and that, accordingly, he denies any basic continuity between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith. The editor believes that this impression is wrong and chooses items to give us clearer perspective on these and other aspects of Bultmann's theology. It is Professor Ogden's conviction that Bultmann's work

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"represents an integral and creative restatement of the cumulative wisdom of classical Protestant theology in its several decisive phases" (p. 9), a conviction which appears to be supported by the autobiographical statement (pp. 287 f.). Certainly the article on "The Historicity of Man and Faith" (1930) and the autobiographical statement (1956) make it clear that the influence of Karl Barth and Martin Heidegger was decisive for Bultmann's career even though he has developed his theology in ways unacceptable to both.

This is a significant contribution to the rapidly growing library of English translations of Bultmann's works. The editor and the publishers are to be congratulated for making it available in such a handy and inexpensive form.

B. LEROY BURKHART

Cedar Crest College

St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch. By VIRGINIA CORWIN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960. viii + 293 pages. \$5.00.

This is the first volume of a new series, Yale Publications in Religion, edited by David Horne, and published under the direction of the Divinity School. It is an auspicious beginning of the series. Dr. Corwin presents an exhaustive study of the theology of Ignatius against the background of the church at Antioch and the development of Christianity in the decades just before and after A.D. 100. She has taken advantage of the new materials on the Essenes discovered at Qumran and those on Gnosticism discovered at Chenoboskion in sketching the situation in which Ignatius lived and developed his theology.

The church at Antioch, Dr. Corwin believes, was divided into at least three factions. On the right was the group strongly influenced by Judaism, more specifically Es-

sene Judaism. On the left stood the Docetists. In the middle was a center party of which Ignatius himself was the spokesman. The positions held by the extremes had not hardened into heresies; rather, the church was in the process of defining its theology and Ignatius was taking a leading role in it. Ignatius agreed with the Judaizers in their respect for written and institutional authority and with the Docetists in their sense of the need for revelation and in their freedom in using myth; yet he was independent of both. Throughout the volume the author is concerned to show that Ignatius cannot be identified as a Gnostic, that, indeed, no clear-cut single movement can be labeled "Gnostic," and that there is no evidence for a Mandaean or pre-Valentinian redeemer figure in Ignatius' letters.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, *The Situation*, begins with a summary of the critical study of the letters and a sketch of the circumstances in which the letters were written. Chapters 2 and 3 are devoted to the city and the church at Antioch. The factiousness of the church, the author suggests, may be understood

if we remember how large the city was, and how divided into national groups of varying size it was. . . . In so divided a population there were almost inevitably several small Christian churches of different religious and perhaps social backgrounds, meeting in houses in different parts of the city, and exposed to diverse influences. Their theological tendencies continued at variance because they rarely met together (p. 49).

Part II is entitled *Theology*. The most fundamental theological consideration for Ignatius was the doctrine of the Incarnation. Priority is assigned to this belief because it was the church's answer to the Docetists. Ignatius seems to have been more aware of the danger of docetic thought than the author of the contemporary Johannine writings and so was more insistent on the historical reality of human life. For it is in this human life

that God reveals himself. God in himself is Silence, *Sigé*, while Christ is the revealing Word. But there is only one God, Father and Son, *Sigé* and *Logos*; therefore Christ is God. Incarnation and revelation comprise God's response to man's need for salvation. Man tends toward inner division. Only God can save him from factionalism and bestow on him life and grace through the "coming," the cross, and the resurrection. Ignatius' chief concern was to strengthen the church because it was within the church that salvation would be achieved by most men. He saw the church realistically but also held that it was grounded in the purpose of God, so that through the church and its sacraments men could "attain unto God."

In Part III Dr. Corwin considers Ignatius' convictions about the Christian life. The Christian life is the response of men to the saving act of God in Christ. It is neither inevitable nor impossible; it is dependent on man's choice and persistence. (In Bultmann's language, Ignatius understands the Christian faith as an *existential* attitude.) The Christian is a disciple of Jesus Christ and will pattern his life after Christ's. That life is one of faith and love toward Jesus Christ and of mystical union with God. This interpretation of the Christian life allows Ignatius to avoid both ascetic rigorism and moralism.

Dr. Corwin has given us a thorough and well-written study of Ignatius, and Yale University Press has provided a handsomely printed volume. There is an extensive bibliography of selected books and articles bearing upon Ignatian studies as well as two indexes, one of names and terms, the other of citations. The only bibliographical flaw I can find is the consistently incorrect name, "Chicago University Press," in three items in the bibliography.

B. LEROY BURKHART

Cedar Crest College

The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer. By JOHN D. GODSEY. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 299 pages. \$6.00.

This is a timely book. Interest in the thought of the twentieth-century martyr, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, has risen to the point where it is in danger of becoming a fad. This fate Bonhoeffer would have deplored above all others. However, despite the interest, we have had only limited access to Bonhoeffer's works in English. We can be thankful to Godsey for his patient study of the whole of the Bonhoeffer literature and for his summary of it.

Primarily, Godsey's book is a chronological account of the development of Bonhoeffer's thought, in which theological summary is interspersed with biographical material so that we can see the life and thought of Bonhoeffer developing together. Only the final chapter, some twenty pages, is given to interpretation and evaluation. This method has its strength and weakness. The strength lies in the fact that we get Bonhoeffer in an authentic fashion, frequently in his own words, even when Godsey is not actually quoting. The weakness is that Bonhoeffer, like so many German theologians, is an obscure and difficult thinker. It would have been helpful if Godsey had struggled to translate Bonhoeffer into simpler terms. As it is, much of the book is for the technical theologian whereas Bonhoeffer ought to be for every Christian.

The first chapter, "Theological foundation," is a summary of Bonhoeffer's first theological writings, written during the relatively quiet period of his life that preceded the rise of Hitler. During this early period one already finds the life-long emphasis on Christology and on the church as the means of making God and Christ concrete in the world. Here, too, is the primary emphasis upon personal relations, although the concept is obscured when Bonhoeffer stretches the concept of person to include the "social per-

son," the "real personality" that is found in social institutions. At this stage there is in Bonhoeffer a very high doctrine of the church which causes him to argue forcefully that any relationship to God is possible only through the church.

The second chapter follows Bonhoeffer through the thirties and his days of conflict with the Nazi regime. At this time Bonhoeffer's interest turned to biblical exegesis, and he became concerned to emphasize the cost of discipleship in a battle against the "cheap grace" that he felt Protestantism was offering. Also at this period we find his growing emphasis upon the nature of Christian fellowship as "life together."

The third chapter, "Theological Fragmentation," deals with the various fragments that came from Bonhoeffer's pen during the dark days of the forties. At this time we find him arguing that the world has "come of age"; it no longer needs the *deus ex machina* of the "God hypothesis" to answer its questions. It is a Godless age, and yet in its very revolt against religion and God, Bonhoeffer discerns a "hopeful Godlessness." In fact, the world may today be closer to the living God than in the days of religion and piety. Now we can see that God is to be found not in our ignorance nor in our weakness, but as the Lord of the world, in what we know and in our strength. It is perhaps these last fragments of Bonhoeffer, incomplete and yet challenging, that are forcing the church today to take him most seriously. For in them, Bonhoeffer calls the church to be truly worldly, as worldly as God himself was when, through the Incarnation, he came to save the world.

In the final chapter Godsey raises some important questions about Bonhoeffer. A most important question is whether the final development of Bonhoeffer's thought involves a radical break from his earlier

thought or a logical development of it. In view of his radical attack upon "religion" and his defense of the "Godless world" come of age, it is not strange that some came to believe that Bonhoeffer had lost his faith. Godsey, however, argues persuasively that Bonhoeffer consistently remained Christ-centered in his thinking. Because Christ is not without his body, this includes ecclesiology. Revelation is always concrete revelation, not a word or doctrine, but flesh. God revealed himself in concrete life and the revelation continues in the concrete community of the church. The stages in Bonhoeffer's thought, argues Godsey, are the results of a growing understanding of the meaning of Christ. In the first period he was concerned with Christ as the reality of the church. In the second period he emphasized Christ as Lord over the church, and in the third period he concentrated on Christ as Lord over the world. But in a real sense all three emphases run through Bonhoeffer's whole life.

I do not agree with Godsey when he argues that Bonhoeffer was too hard on psychotherapy and the existentialists. It seems to me that Bonhoeffer made an essential point when he argued that it is no aid to Christianity to beat men into an introspective mire in order to get them to grasp Christ as the "only way out." But this summation of Bonhoeffer's life and thought does cause me to raise one question: Did Bonhoeffer preserve with sufficient clarity the judgment of God over all of the acts of man? Tempted by the exigencies of the Nazi period, did Bonhoeffer baptize too uncritically certain political acts as "the Christian way"?

The modern church cannot afford to ignore the insights of Bonhoeffer. Godsey's book is an excellent introduction to these insights.

WILLIAM HORDERN

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Relativism, Knowledge, and Faith. By GORDON D. KAUFMAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960. vii + 141 pages. \$3.75.

The author of this stimulating and provocative book is a promising young philosopher and theologian who received his B.D. and his Ph.D. from Yale. He has taught at Pomona College and is now associate professor of theology at the Vanderbilt Divinity School.

The basic argument in Dr. Kaufman's study involves three fundamental steps: Part I deals with the problem of relativism; Part II attempts to explore "the anthropological basis of all of our thinking"; while, as a fitting conclusion, Part III involves an examination of the common task of metaphysics and theology. To understand the book one must keep in mind the distinction that the author makes between two concepts: "external relativism" (the usual conception of the term relativism—"that value itself and truth itself are relative to the concrete situation"), and "internal relativism" (based upon the investigator's attempt to view "the strange culture, or historical period, or person" under investigation sympathetically from within) (pp. 14-15).

There are a number of reasons why this book is worth reading. To begin with, here is a real attempt to get at the bottom of so much of the confusion in which modern man finds himself. Whatever his shortcomings in terms of adequacy, Kaufman is not shallow. In certain respects, his analysis cuts very deep.

Secondly, in his refutation of "external relativism," Kaufman reminds us of Socrates and Plato—whose basic argument he uses very effectively: Thoroughgoing relativism is hopelessly self-contradictory (p. 9). Caught in this trap, relativists vainly try to vindicate their position by "fiat" (p. 12).

Thirdly, the concept of "internal relativism" possesses considerable theoretical and practical relevance. When taken seriously, not only does it lead to a better understand-

ing of cultures, periods, and thinkers; it also helps to explain the scandal of philosophy, namely, the strife of systems. Closely related to all this is Kaufman's interesting discussion of "subject-object polarity," of the development of self-consciousness, and of the general subjective conditioning to which all human knowing—in certain respects at least—is always exposed.

Fourthly, in spite of this stress on subjective conditioning, a good case is made for a considerable amount of epistemological objectivity. Knowledge, as over against illusion, bears not less than three "marks" of validity: "givenness" (the compulsion of fact or object as something given to the mind rather than fabricated); "universality" (verification in terms of man's ever-widening experience); and "logical interconnection" (which comes close to what Brightman and others have called coherence). Later, in fact, Kaufman goes so far as to say that "coherence" constitutes nothing short of the "ultimate criterion" to which both philosophy and theology make their appeal in their search for truth (p. 92).

Fifthly, unlike many theologians, the author stresses the value and inevitability of metaphysics, rising as it does out of the depth of life itself—that is, as a significant human response to the mystery and wonder of existence. Its great task is nothing less than the attempt "to unite into a coherent whole all levels of meaning . . ." (p. 102). Nor can there be a divorce between metaphysics and theology; for both seek "an explicit and valid answer to the riddle of life . . ." (p. 99).

Finally, like the greatest Christian theologians, Kaufman tries to fit his Christology into a universal perspective. For him Christ is both the "center" and the "Lord" of history; and this ultimately means "that at the deepest levels of our beings we believe that meaning overcomes meaninglessness in history" (p. 112). This is the faith that finally overcomes relativity (p. 124).

The book has a number of defects or limitations. In the course of his analysis of the causes of modern relativism, the author fails to mention the interaction of all cultures on a world-wide scale together with the nuclear crisis, which hangs over our heads like a sword of Damocles, threatening all our values. Thus, Kaufman is a bit "ivory tower." He should also have given reasons why Christ rather than Buddha or Mohammed or Karl Marx should be regarded as the "center" and "Lord" of history. Today, as during those first heroic Christian centuries, Christ is forced to vindicate his claims against many contenders.

Again, there are times when the author seems to be riding two horses. While he stresses objectivity, many statements smack of radical relativism. "All thought, then," he insists, "and the criteria of all thought are ultimately subjective" (p. 84). His statement that the "internal relativist" would be able "to sympathize with the obligation of the head-hunter" to hunt heads (p. 16) implies extreme cultural relativism. Most of us would rather sympathize with the victims. Surely, one can sympathize with primitives without sympathizing with primitivism. Yet, in spite of these defects, this book represents a pioneer effort operating on frontiers toward which we must press in this new age.

ARTHUR W. MUNK

Albion College

The Atonement and the Sacraments. By ROBERT S. PAUL. New York-Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960. 396 pages. \$6.50.

Christian history is full of theological variety. There is need for historical studies which state and critically examine various positions on doctrines of the church. Robert S. Paul, Waldo Professor of Church History at the Hartford Theological Seminary, has offered such a treatment of the atonement. Writing with the conviction that "the atonement is the starting point of theology,"

his work is guided by the thesis that this doctrine "comes to its natural focus in the Sacraments."

By organization the volume lends itself to easy use. In Part I, "The Legacy from the Ancient World," interpretations of the atonement from Irenaeus to Jonathan Edwards are discussed. In Part II, "Disputes about the Inheritance," developments in British thought are traced (including a section on Horace Bushnell). In Part III the author interprets the doctrine of the atonement in relation to the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

In order to give an indication of the usefulness of this volume some comments about the methodology of the author are pertinent. In treating the historical development of the theories of the atonement he directs his attention to this doctrine exclusively. The first two sections of the book are a résumé of the thought of various men in Christian history, together with the author's critique of their positions. It may be argued that there are basic weaknesses in this approach. First, this particular doctrine cannot be separated from other aspects of a theologian's work; one's view of the atonement is intrinsically related to an analysis of human nature. For example, any discussion of Abelard on the atonement requires some treatment of his view of man, especially his understanding of what sin is, the meaning of "intention," etc. The use of the label "moral influence" must be placed in a broader context than simply a discussion of the atonement. The same observation may be made at other points. The author tends to treat the atonement as a theologically isolated doctrine.

Secondly, little attention is given to the influence of intellectual and social history on Christian thought. For example, the significance of seventeenth-century patterns of thought concerning natural law needs to be spelled out more adequately if one is to come to grips with Hugo Grotius and the governmental or rectoral theory of the atonement.

An examination of the context of the later eighteenth century in America, socially and intellectually, would help to explain why Edwardsian Calvinists and Arminians found a general area of agreement in a particular theory of the atonement. An examination of eleventh-century concepts of justice would illumine the discussion of Anselm. This volume does not treat in any thorough way the historical context of theology.

Another feature of this work is the delimited treatment of modern theology. With the exception of very brief mention of Gustav Aulen and Emil Brunner and a more involved discussion of Horace Bushnell, attention centers on the British Isles.

To this reader the last section of the book which deals with the relation between the atonement and the sacraments is the most significant. Here is the author's central concern and it is to this section that the historical survey points. "If there is at the heart of the sacraments this declaration of Christ's saving act, then Protestant Christians who know something about their atonement centered theology and value it should be the most sacramental of all Christians" (p. 309). "... when Protestants have taken the doctrine of the Atonement seriously they have found it necessary to reassert the centrality of the Sacrament. The Sacraments, however, are in that relationship to Christian worship not for aesthetic reasons and still less for reasons of sentimental piety or conservative orthodoxy, but because here the Church stands again in the presence of Christ's great redemptive work—we stand again as witnesses to God's great Act in Christ for our salvation which he represents to the Church" (p. 312). Dr. Paul's carefully and thoughtfully developed analysis, based on clearly stated presuppositions, is deserving of a wide reading.

This volume offers clear descriptive accounts of various positions on the atonement and includes perceptive critiques of them, yet as an interpretive study of the his-

torical development of this doctrine it has limited usefulness. It does, however, suggest an important thesis in its discussion of the relation of the atonement and the sacraments.

ROBERT L. FERM

Pomona College

The Life and Thought of Kierkegaard for Everyman. By JOHN A. GATES. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 172 pages. \$3.75.

Occasionally while reading this book the reviewer almost felt that it was just another book on Kierkegaard, but the final appraisal does not allow such a judgment. Gates has succeeded in combining two things not usually found together in books on Kierkegaard, a summary of each of Kierkegaard's writings and a presentation of the man himself in terms of his daily life in Copenhagen. The latter aspect of the book has value even for the reader who may be quite familiar with Kierkegaard's thought, as it presents biographical and historical detail which would otherwise have to be searched out with some difficulty.

The title is indicative of a new and most necessary stage in the evolution of Kierkegaard's impact on the twentieth century. In his attempt to present Kierkegaard for "everyman" the author is to be commended for two reasons: (1) His motive is in keeping with Kierkegaard's own intention. Gates indicates (p. 29) that Kierkegaard, "throughout his life, was to enjoy the society of common folk and of children." (2) Kierkegaard has been known to theologians and philosophers for some time, but the finesse of his thought, in spite of the appearance of a few of his works in paperback editions, has engaged relatively few minds. His teaching has yet to penetrate and grip the minds and hearts of the so-called laity. To this end the book is definitely a worthwhile contribution. Kierkegaardian research and scholarship

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have passed through a kind of scholastic stage and today, as the practical implications of what Kierkegaard sought to say are really faced, and as Christians struggle with the everyday ethical dimensions of their faith, he may come into his own in an even more fruitful way than heretofore. It may well be that his day is yet to come.

The author's summary of the main themes of each of Kierkegaard's books is such that the beginner will be encouraged to go to the sources and read on for himself. Gates succeeds in confronting the reader with a lively kind of witness to the truth of the Christian faith as understood by Kierkegaard. Even the reader who may not go on to read Kierkegaard himself may benefit greatly from the insights presented. One can state in summary form what might be called Kierkegaard's "system." There is none. Kierkegaard's value is seminal. He sows seed thoughts which have creative value for anyone whose mind is not closed. This was surely Kierkegaard's purpose, to help men and women who have, in effect, forgotten what it means to exist in the contemporary world. There are, however, more than flashes of insight to be gained from Kierkegaard. A general knowledge of his literary contribution is valuable for an understanding of our age. Kierkegaard had an uncanny awareness of what was happening to Western society and preoccupied himself with a prophetic analysis of certain great changes which that society was to undergo. Gates (p. 120) refers to these elements: (1) An educational-scientific emphasis upon facts to the neglect of meanings; (2) preoccupation with detached, reflective observations to the abandonment of creative enthusiasm and action; and (3) idealization of an abstraction, mass man, to the exclusion of real man, the responsible individual.

It would be pointless in this review to

summarize the summaries of Kierkegaard's writings offered by Gates. The aim in each facet of the analysis is to bring out the central theme of Kierkegaard, namely, how to be a Christian in the midst of the prevailingly conventional Christianity which is but a travesty of the real thing. The true nature of Christianity is radically different from culture patterns, folkways, and philosophical systems. It is never a mass movement. Salutory indeed are Kierkegaard's judgments on "bandwagon" Christianity. Religious complacency must be broken down. Its trouble is that it underrates God and overrates man.

Gates does not present Kierkegaard as a hero, but as an exceedingly sensitive human being, struggling with those issues which should be the *sine qua non* of every Christian life: forgiveness, vocation, and communion with God. The book succeeds in its intention, that is, to bring the whole Kierkegaard in a kind of capsule form to everyman. There now remains the infinitely greater task of taking the basic categories of the Christian life, as presented by Kierkegaard, and making them live, in a realistic way, for the believer today. Concepts such as the "knight of the faith" and "suffering" are pregnant with implication but how can we be made to grasp their meaning in our affluent society? It would be a pity indeed if the great contemporary awakening of the laity were not to benefit from Kierkegaard. The task before scholars today is so to interpret and spell out the meaning of his whole authorship in the light of our present-day world that it will turn out to be a veritable "Training in Christianity." The lives of Christians in the second half of the twentieth century will be immeasurably enriched if such communication and encounter take place.

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CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Church Education For Tomorrow. By WESNER FALLAW. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 219 pages. \$3.75.

Recent thinking in ecumenical circles has been concerned with the responsibilities of the laity. The emphasis has fallen upon a fuller witness by lay people in their daily lives and also in their ministry within the church. This has led some of us to reassert the responsibility of lay witness through Christian education, to emphasize the significance of parents in terms reminiscent of Horace Bushnell, and to claim for the church educational functions which others would place on the school. The teaching ministry of the church has been a lay occupation for the past century during the rise and continued influence of the Sunday school on American life, even though it has sometimes been nothing more than bungling by ill-informed amateurs.

Now Wesner Fallaw presents us with a point of view which shares much of the same theory about the nurturing power of the local congregation, but which is diametrically opposed to the idea that lay people can share the truths of the Gospel in an adequate way. He turns to the professional teacher, trained in a Christian seminary and in most cases ordained, as the way to solve the problem. In a careful outline of what needs to be done, he points out that we have been misusing lay people as teachers, for they are not qualified; therefore, we should use them to assist the pastor. By proper staggering of classes, a pastor could teach six to eight hours a week outside of school hours. By increasing the number of seminary-trained people on the staff, there could be a professional teacher for every fifty to one hundred families. The increased salary budget could be met by charging tuition.

The view of the church in this program is a sound one. As Fallaw writes, "Prior to a church's being ready to nurture a novice in

grace and knowledge of God, it must really be the church, the household of God in which people are no more strangers and foreigners but fellow citizens with saints" (p. 31). This means that we must see the meaning of the learning process within the context of God's grace. To describe this process, Fallaw speaks of "church education": "Nurture begins when the faith of the church is communicated by love to the child who is capable of trust" (p. 43). He contrasts this with "religious education," but his point of view is that commonly expressed by those who speak of "Christian education" (Vieth, Grimes, Smart, for example).

Fallaw then spells out his program, anticipating most of the practical objections. His point is that if we care enough, we can meet the demands of his program, involving as it does increased recruiting, multiple staffing of congregations, and changing the educational emphases of the seminaries. The increased cost of the program is not frightening. Even the outline of his curriculum is feasible, and the necessary resources are readily available.

Expert teaching will increase religious knowledge. This has been the approach in England ever since the Education Act of 1944, whereby every child gets compulsory religious instruction over a number of years. The teaching is good, the curriculum is sound, but the results are of doubtful value. The same situation is found in Sweden and West Germany: plenty of religious instruction and empty churches. We simply do not make Christians by providing expert teachers and sound outlines. Such an approach can lead to a sense of irrelevance. Fallaw knows this, but I do not think his program takes it into account. The degree of a person's knowledge is not correlative to his commitment. Christian nurture in the church has as its goal the acceptance of a grace-faith relationship within the community of the Holy Spirit. Surely this involves us in a wider basis for teaching than that suggested

by Fallaw. The trained pastors (no matter how many of them there are) cannot replace parents, adults who are significant to the learners, and lay people who teach more by sharing their faith than by showing their knowledge.

Fallaw seeks to maintain a place for the laity, but I cannot help feeling that they are to be errand boys and girls for the experts. This is a far cry from the view of the laity in the New Testament. Some of the clergy tend to rob lay people of their lay ministry, and we are provided here with another step in that direction. I am not in favor of untrained teachers, but I have not seen any evidence that seminary graduates (even when trained as Fallaw would wish) are necessarily good teachers. Teachers need enough grasp of the subject matter to help students make the Gospel relevant. They also need to see the Gospel's significance for their own lives. This kind of ability is within the scope

of many lay people, even though we must agree with the injunction, "Let not many of you become teachers" (James 3:1).

The pastor is a teacher, but his chief responsibility is to make sure that his teaching increases both the teaching ability and the Christian commitment of the members of his congregation. Some pastors may teach children and most of them should teach confirmation classes, but this is only one aspect of their task. The teaching ministry should be a shared one, with the pastor as "the leader of leaders." At this point Fallaw is willing to have lay teachers only if they have the equivalent of a seminary education.

As I see the author's program, weekday after-school classes would have to be for selected groups. What would happen on Sunday is not clear. But at least on weekdays the students would not be in a worshiping relationship with the rest of the congregation. Many of us are convinced that

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worship is essential to Christian nurture, that the growing popularity of the family service attests to its significance, and that segregated worship by groups (which could occur in these classes) has value only in connection with worship on a broader basis.

I cannot see how Fallaw's program would be any more effective than released time classes taught by experts. It would probably undercut this program completely. The really good teachers of released time classes are more effective than most of the clergy (as presently trained). Even Fallaw thinks that only about forty percent of those being trained for the ministry would be effective teachers (see pp. 109-110).

So much of what Fallaw argues for is right, and in all that he writes he is on the side of the angels. His program is more carefully thought out than I have indicated, and I believe that his recommendations must be taken seriously, for at the least they will challenge every clergyman to rethink the meaning of his educational ministry. They may also challenge the laity to become the teachers they ought to be.

RANDOLPH C. MILLER

Yale Divinity School

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION

Values Men Live By. By MORRIS KEETON.
New York-Nashville: Abingdon Press,
1960. 224 pages. \$3.50.

Dr. Keeton of Antioch College invites his readers "to the delights and to the more substantial rewards of philosophic inquiry in religion." Lamentably, the study proves neither delightful nor rewarding. The primary reason for the former deficiency is the writer's tortuous style. *Values Men Live By* is directed primarily to students, but even professionals will find the going wearisome. In the matter of rewards, much of the book's failure derives from Keeton's intellectual indecisiveness accompanied, as so often hap-

pens, by methodological confusion. The author's difficulty is epitomized in the contrast between the stated purpose of "philosophic inquiry" and the subtitle, "An Invitation to Religious Inquiry." Some chapters are predominantly philosophical; at least two reflect an attempt at specifically religious inquiry; several are an uncertain mixture of both perspectives; and a couple of others have nothing to do with either philosophy of religion or religious faith but are instead exercises in straight philosophical ethics.

Most of the philosophical materials provide no clear conclusions. Refuge is taken in the device of asking the reader to decide for himself. Again and again, at the end of a chapter, the author raises the exact question with which the chapter begins. I am not opposed to the formulating of critical questions as an intrinsic function of philosophy, and I wish that more and more students would think for themselves. The only question is whether it is necessary to take so many printed pages to say that everything comes down to the meanings attached to words and to what it is the individual is seeking in life.

When Keeton does speak from the standpoint of religious faith, his interest is evidently to derive certain implications from the confession in the Preface that he is a naturalistic theist. (I am being a little charitable here; the author's interests are extremely obscure.) Is he simply the prisoner of his tradition? Is naturalistic theism the real culprit in being unable to choose between reason and faith and in making inevitable through its own *eidōs* such fuzzy expressions as "the creative interplay of ideas which is the best hope that the next stage of societal development will retain what was of value in [an earlier] way of life as well as inject new values into the next pattern of life" (p. 203)? I do not think that the fault is attributable to naturalistic theism as such. Any school of thought can refine its conceptual tools. And I do not see

that the presuppositions of naturalistic theism necessarily demand such generously indiscriminate identifications as "mana, Brahman, Way of Heaven, God, Jahweh, Elohim, and so on" to represent the "various names" men have applied to "the sources of good and the object of most rational loyalty" (p. 182).

Interestingly enough, Keeton has more to offer when, as in Chapters 8 and 9, he goes beyond the making of distinctions, and distinctions within distinctions, to issues of religious commitment and affirmation. However, even here his happy tolerance leads him into strange alliances. A case in point is Keeton's expression of sympathy for the Protestant neo-Reformation conviction of revelation as encounter (pp. 131 ff.). The latter point of view is all at once identified with a non-traditional and "functional approach to the understanding of God." And then, miracle of miracles, the commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God," becomes simply "other language" for "processes productive of the greatest growth of good and our harmonious relation with them." There is much concern with problems of religious language in this study but this does not include attention to a view which the author will sometime be required to take into account if he is to advance the sort of creative intellectual conflict for which he pleads in his closing chapter. I refer to the claim that religious language participates in the reality it seeks to represent.

Values Men Live By reads like the first draft of a manuscript which might be publishable provided that it is carefully reworked and sharpened. Unsupported and oversimple statements include the alleged materialism of Americans (pp. 29 f.) and the claim that Jewish teachers join the Confucianists in trusting in the essential goodness of man (p. 97). The section on science and religion omits any fundamental consideration of the widespread contemporary understanding of science as abstract in character. The

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omission may derive in part—I am guessing—from the author's prevailingly abstract assumptions respecting the nature of religion. The content of at least two chapters does not bear out the titles used. The chapter on ritual is actually on language and (a little) ritual; the chapter supposedly devoted to the divine determination of events versus human self-determination deals not with that issue but with the problem of whether men are automatons or act freely. The continual use of "you" to identify the reader is distracting. Finally, Abingdon Press has not helped matters much. I found typographical, grammatical, spelling or factual errors on these pages: 8, 39, 41, 49, 52, 55, 56, 59, 65, 90, 93, 96, 135, 155, 181, 184, 196, 202, 215, and 216.

The journey into the realm of religious values is a most serious business. It demands much more than the semantic operations at which Dr. Keeton is rather adept.

A. ROY ECKARDT

Lehigh University

EVANGELISM AND APOLOGETICS

Steps to Salvation. By JOHN H. GERSTNER. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960. 192 pages. \$3.95.

The subtitle of this book is "The Evangelistic Message of Jonathan Edwards," which gives a rather exact clue to its content. Professor Gerstner has produced another of the good books constituting the recent Edwardsian revival. The author has concentrated on Edwards' sermons, some of them unpublished, although he has introduced connections with the more theological treatises where appropriate. This fact gives a further clue to his intention, for it allows the author to study the message which Edwards had for the members of his congregation.

It is quite clear from the text that Edwards had worked out in some detail the

steps which were required in bringing a man from his natural state to the Christian life. Thus it is that Edwards presents quite definite proposals regarding the activity of the Holy Spirit and the relationship of this to one's natural faculties. This thoroughness on the part of the New England divine far transcends the rather random suggestions of the contemporary clergy, who appear much less clear where they are trying to lead and how people are to get there. One need only spend a few Sundays in a contemporary pulpit to realize the depth of the difficulty which Edwards faced and to appreciate the thoughtfulness of his suggestions, regardless of specific points of agreement or disagreement. Few homiletics departments even approach the seriousness of Edwards "steps" in analysing the course of man's spirit from unfaithfulness to faith.

The analysis of these steps leads Gerstner to a rather careful discussion of grace and freedom, at least as far as Edwards' sermons are concerned. Through this discussion the author places Edwards squarely within the Calvinistic tradition which correlates the "decrees of God" with the "responsibility of men." Gerstner thus argues that Edwards is a "covenant theologian" who has not thereby compromised with Arminianism.

It is increasingly evident that the theological frame of reference for Edwards was quite different from that of our day, even for those in the Calvinistic tradition. Assurance of the reality of Hell and the vigorous place which it played in Edwards' thought, as well as the epistemological assurance regarding the workings of the Holy Spirit, have surely changed. Nevertheless, numerous issues with which Edwards was greatly concerned remain of central importance. One obtains here valuable insight into Edwards' theory of natural knowledge; evangelism, self-interest and salvation; conscience and the Holy Spirit; and many other matters.

Gerstner notes an interesting interpretation of Edwards regarding justification by

works. Edwards did not object to this as a major and central doctrine of Protestant thought. He was willing to maintain it, along with the Arminians. The difference lies in the origin and nature of works. While the liberals taught justification by the works of men, Edwards emphasized the work of the Christ. The Edwardsian emphasis upon the place of works seems hardly to have received appropriate attention in American Protestant thought.

Edwards' Platonism is most obvious in his religious epistemology. Here a strong place is given to reason and the relationship of reason to faith is carefully worked out. It would appear that the purely voluntaristic aspects of faith are much less obvious than in the thought of Kierkegaard and recent existential theology. Edwards appears more of a rationalist than might be expected. The Platonic doctrine of illumination is greatly in evidence and is intimately related to his evangelical message. This leads to two related comments. Any de-Platonizing of Christian thought would have serious effect upon Edwardsian theology and thus would radically change the entire structure of his evangelical message. But the presence of such a doctrine of illumination and the large place given to reason by one so much in the tradition of Reformation thought raises serious questions respecting the fundamental difference between the Reformation tradition and the medieval Thomistic tradition which it criticized. The medieval attempt to allow such a strong place to both reason and works was supposedly the object of the Protestant critique. The role Edwards provides not only for works but more especially for reason in the act of faith forces us to re-think the precise nature of this disagreement. It also suggests a greater variety of views upon the relationship of faith and reason in the Reformation tradition than is usually admitted.

Professor Gerstner also suggests an interesting comparison of Edwards and Wesley,

two leading evangelists, with respect to the tenor of their message. He suggests three major distinctions. 1. "Wesley affirmed and Edwards denied that God had an obligation to offer salvation to sinful man." 2. Wesley believed that God had given fallen man the full ability to believe and be saved. Edwards, on the other hand, gave man only the ability to seek. 3. As a result, Wesley preached for decision whereas Edwards called men to seek.



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Thus it was that the well-thought-out message of Edwards led to the Calvinistic evangelical message of the Great Awakening.

HAROLD A. DURFEE

American University

FANTASIA

The Religion of the Occident. By MARTIN A. LARSON. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. xviii + 711 pages. \$6.00.

Dr. Larson sets forth his purpose very clearly in his Foreword, and the text itself follows in simple outline the aim he has set for himself. He shows his sympathies and his point of view at the very outset, and whatever exceptions to his thesis the reader may take, it cannot be said that the author is not clear in what he means to say. Often his eclectic view rides roughshod over orthodox notions which churchmen derive from the idea that Christianity is a unique revelation, and there are times when he selects historical facts or uses hypotheses merely to advance his own point of view. However, his handling of the materials is always able and effective.

The religious faith of the Western world, according to Larson, is substantially a synthesis of beliefs and doctrines which found their origins in many lands and among many peoples. These convictions were assembled and set forth in what the author calls the "Gospel Jesus"—specifically, those documents known as the Synoptics. Thus, the dogmas and teachings of the Christian churches do not derive directly and purely from Judaism, but are a fusion of truths from the major religions and philosophies which were current in the area where Jesus, designated the Christ, established his religion. Dr. Larson says that he spent more than four years in a study of ancient Egyptian, Persian, Brahman, Jain, Buddhist, Judaistic, Essene, and Christian literature. He contends that important elements from

the corresponding cultures originally converged in the Pythagorean *thiasoi* or brotherhoods and from there passed to the Essene Order, from which the Christian Gospels emerged. The Essenes constitute the foundation-stone of Larson's edifice. He describes them as "communist celibates" who in their formative stage (c. 170 B.C.) absorbed the metaphysics and eschatology of the Zoroastrians. Then, having become Pythagoreans some sixty-five years later, they incorporated into their system much of the discipline and soteriology of the mystery cults of Greece and Asia Minor. From his study of the Dead Sea Scrolls literature the author concludes that upon this syncretism the Essenes "engrafted a Christology which combined a Persian with a Messianic Judaic concept, which, in a period of crisis, they personalized in a martyred Teacher of Righteousness whom they expected to return upon clouds about 35-50 B.C. accompanied by a myriad of angels to conduct the Last Judgment." Larson is led to say: "It is our conclusion that Jesus was an Essene who, convinced that he was Himself the incarnate Christ destined to redeem and judge mankind, left the Order for the purpose of creating a mass movement."

The text is divided into four principal parts: the pagan origins of Christianity, its Jewish sources, the inner meaning of the "Gospel Jesus," and its reconstitution in the pagan world. The author marshals his facts and supporting proofs (with almost thirty pages of notes and bibliography) to show that Christianity was of a highly composite origin, combining religious concepts first known to or developed by Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Buddhists, Greeks, Jews, Phrygians, Syrians, and other peoples of Asia Minor. "It was congenitally related to all of these, and when any of them accepted Christianity, they were simply recovering what was, at least in part, originally their

own." The "Gospel Jesus," Larson affirms, consists primarily of soteriology, eschatology, ethics, and Messianic concepts.

The writer avoids entanglement in mystical interpretations. Wherever mysticism is involved, he is detached and descriptive. He has Jesus "convinced that he was the incarnate Christ." He has John the Baptist "convinced that he was the incarnate Elijah and harbinger of the Messiah." His hypothesis, with which many would quarrel, is that Jesus had been for some years a member of the Essene community, that he had developed serious doubts, and that he had finally become convinced that he, rather than the long overdue Teacher of Righteousness, was the true incarnation of the Messiah. "Since he had no following and preeminence among the Essenes, He could not possibly reorganize the community. . . . His only alternative was, therefore, either to live and die in complete obscurity as an obedient member of the Order, or, combining the Essene synthesis with certain Buddhist concepts, to go forth . . . broadcasting the seditious tenets of the sect, proclaiming the acceptable year of the Lord, and hinting broadly that he himself was the Messiah. . . . We believe

that He consciously recreated the career of the Teacher of Righteousness and pursued a course of action which would lead inevitably to His sacrificial and spectacular death as an atonement for the sins of mankind, persuaded that in this way and in no other could He establish the kingdom of heaven."

Dr. Larson says openly and frankly that his study is the work of "a searching Humanist." With his disarming frankness it is hard to quarrel, as it is also with the bold appeal of his ideas. His ability to see connections and relationships with the teachings of other religions is a commendable feature of the exposition, and also a reflection of his view that all religions are a striving of the human spirit for the more abundant life. Many of his views and hypotheses, however, will often impress the reader as wild and speculative, creating identity where there is no more than ritualistic similarity. Also, his humanistic outlook all too often conditions him to search for textual transmissions of vital truths rather than enabling him to see how much they are the fruit of living meditation.

JOSEPH POLITELLA

Kent State University

Books Received

(Books marked with an * are hereby acknowledged. Others will be reviewed in this or subsequent issues of the *Journal*.)

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